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THE NEW MEXICO
HISTORICAL REVIEW

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THE NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW

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ERRATA

- p. 134, l. 10, *read* order to make the most of the new discovery, Father Escobar
- p. 242, l. 24, *read* It was essentially a joint expedition . . .
- p. 263, after line 1, *read* on entering it. In the valley of the said pueblo . . .
- p. 284, interchange lines 17 and 18.

NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW

Vol. II.

January, 1927.

No. 1.

NEW MEXICO IN THE GREAT WAR

(Continued)

IX Life in Camp and Cantonment

Community life wanes in proportion to growth of community activity. The two manifestations, seemingly so closely related, hold each other in check or in balance, as it were. The more that the functions of social existence are assigned to community authority, the fewer and more formal the community gatherings and the more general becomes individualism, the tendency of "each man for himself." The result is that a few gather unto themselves the administration of community affairs, inevitable reaction sets in and the cycle begins again with a rebirth of community life which immediately sets to work to wrest power from the few who have usurped it and to restore community activity. That being achieved, the units of the community once more relapse into the individualism which permits the community to do everything for the group or individual but which at the same time stifles community life.

To the student of sociology, life in camps and cantonments during the Great War, was of intense interest. In this life, community activity had reached the stage where a few administered everything for the many, provided for their daily needs, their comforts, their play and even their religious needs. What was the reaction of the mass to this benevolent despotism created by the needs of Mars?

At first the mass liked it. Relieved of the necessity

of providing for themselves, of worrying about the tomorrow or what to do next, it seemed like a great vacation, a fine lark, such as many men dream of but seldom realize. The mass was relieved of every responsibility for community activities and at the same time had no need of worrying about individual needs. There was a manifestation of community life as a result such as America had not seen since the days that town meetings and quilting parties regulated life in New England. There was a joyous, good-natured abandon and many men learned for the first time what comradeship, "My bunkie," and other terms met with in literature really signify.

However, there were a few spirits in every camp and cantonment who at once chafed under the restraint of even the most benevolent despotism. Those inclined to lawlessness stole out of camp, overstayed their leaves of absence. The charges of technical desertion were comparatively many and insubordination was not rare. Those of constructive mind set to work to direct community activities and there were such things as "round robins" pointing out defects-real or imaginary-in camp management, suggesting innovations or improvements, while there were organized groups who initiated activities such as were not specifically maintained by the benevolent despotism of camp authority. How far this would have gone had the war continued or had the same divisions and regiments remained in their camps and cantonments for longer periods, is an interesting speculation for students who may find material for their research in studying what happened in Russia and later sporadically in some of the other belligerent armies; or they might consult the reports made to the governors of middle western states on conditions at Camp Cody or in the investigation of conditions at Camp Kearny by Governor W. E. Lindsey of New Mexico.

However, the average recruit accepted unquestioningly what authority prepared for him; he obeyed unhesitatingly the orders issued; readily adapted himself to the new

life; enjoyed it without reasoning very much about it, and caught a glimpse of phases of human existence that had been a closed book to him in his pre-war relations.

New Mexicans were to be found in nearly every cantonment and camp. They were scattered through some twenty divisions and possibly a hundred regiments. As all the camps and cantonments were built upon the same models and the regulations governing were made by the War Department at Washington without much consideration of environment, climate, or local conditions, life was very much the same in all of them except that climate and environment did assert themselves as they always do in the long run, and as one may learn by studying the health statistics and the death lists with the causes of death at the various sites. Whether one chooses therefore Camp Cody or Camp Kearny, Camp Funston or Camp Mills, for a description of the life of the men in training, the story is much the same. For the purposes of this chapter, a sketch of the life of the individual and of the group at Camp Perry, is perhaps, as typical and comprehensive as could be found.

Camp Perry is located on the shores of Lake Erie under the fitful skies of the Great Lakes region. It is pretty much isolated and far from the town and city life. Port Clinton is the nearest village and Toledo the nearest large city. It was quite inconvenient to reach either, involving a railroad or automobile trip with attendant money cost and loss of time. Drainage and sanitary conditions left much to be desired. On rainy days, and there were many such, some of the tents occupied by the men stood a foot deep in water or mud. Many tents had no floors and often leaked. The streets of the camp were almost bottomless when the downpour was heavy, and slippery and mucky for days afterwards.

Here was gathered every nationality and every stratum of society to be found in America. On one side of the camp were student officers selected from practically every camp in the United States, who had been commissioned and had

shown unusual fitness and who had been sent there for special instruction in small arms. On the other side of the Camp, were the Marines and the Sailors, each with their band, the civilian rifle teams representing every state in the Union, and squads of laborers of all nationalities and languages, organized into development battalions, to do "kitchen-police" duty and the menial tasks of the camp, to work the roads, tend the butts at practice, unload the freight cars and trucks, do the cleaning and the polishing, and whatever tasks required mainly muscular strength.

It was a heterogeneous mass, yet community life flourished. It must be admitted, however, that there was no "melting pot" flavor about it. Each group kept much to itself. There were dances for officers, for instance, and dances for privates. There was an officers' mess hall and a mess hall for the others who were not commissioned. There were camp fires for marines and boxing matches for the sailors. The civilian rifle teams mingled freely with each group and therefore saw more of every aspect of camp life than did the average private or officer in military service.

The absence of women and "women's nursing" was a characteristic of camp life and gave it an aspect that was, an answer to the assertion that the American army was "woman-raised" and therefore effeminate. For the few dances given in camp, matrons and girls came over from Port Clinton. Only occasionally did a mother or sister or a sweetheart find her way to Camp and these happy ones for an hour or so marched proudly about the rifle range or sat with their escorts on a bench in the Y. M. C. A. hut, but had to leave camp by 10 P. M. There were no camp followers in the sense that [European] armies had known them from time immemorial. There never had been an army with such lofty moral standards. There was an evident absence of such scandals and gossip as mar social life in every community and even at army posts. The few

sporadic cases which occurred happened despite, rather than because of, camp conditions.

At Camp Perry there were from New Mexico several officers who had just come from the Presidio Training Camp, including Lieutenants Caldwell and Chaves, the Civilian Rifle Team, consisting of sixteen men, and a number of older officers who had been in New Mexico and were still interested in its progress.

The daily routine was simple and as a rule the men fell into it readily, even as to the early rising and the primitive life, cheerfully doing without many of the conveniences that ordinarily are deemed essential. A New Mexico writer in the Santa Fe Daily New Mexican of September 14, 1918, gives a pen picture of this life as follows:

"Democracy as it works out in the United States is exemplified daily in Camp Perry. Millionaire stands shoulder to shoulder with pauper, university graduate rubs against the self-made man, each with a tin dish and tin cup in his hand, each takes his place and turn in the lines that rushes hungrily into the mess hall at meal time, each sits on the rough board bench at the rough table and dips his beans or pudding out of the same huge tin dish. Enjoy it? You bet your life—the millionaire and highbrow, if anything, growl a great deal less than the "pobre." At night, in the tepees on the iron cots with the tent walls flapping gaily like sails of a ship in a gale, how these same men sleep even though at home insomnia might have been their constant companion. Reveille at 5:10 A. M., sounds all too soon, but out and up they jump, shivering, but energetically taking their turns in carrying the buckets of water from the hydrants at street intersections and dashing the cold water into their faces, then drilling until breakfast at 6:15 A. M. These men wouldn't miss the experience for anything that luxury had previously thrown into their laps. They thrive on it, gain in weight and health and exclaim 'This is the Life'! And they mean it.

"What if the life is strenuous until 5 P. M., shooting

on one range after the other, lying prone in oozy mud or kneeling on a hard bank? The rapid fire, crackling like strings of fire-crackers, sounds all day from the lake front with the deeper, slower fire and the high-pitch of the revolver practice breaking out spasmodically in all directions. That the life agrees with the men, the ruddy faces, the sturdy stride, the good humor on every side, make apparent. Among 3,700 men thus far there are only five hospital cases and some wonder how these five broke into the 'sick list' class!

"Just before supper—and it's breakfast, dinner, and supper in camp, no fashionable six o'clock dinner schedule—the Marine Band with an inimitable drum major at the head marches through the camp. It is followed by a 'crack' military band. At sunset 'retreat' is sounded as the flag goes down. Each and all of the 3,700 men drop whatever they may be doing and stand at 'attention' until the last strains of 'The Star Spangled Banner' die away upon the evening air. It is a thrilling moment, ever sacred to those who cannot help thinking of the men whose life-blood has been given to make those stripes so red, whose highest hopes went into those stars, whose sacrifice has made them so white, whose loyalty unto death has made holy the blue. Tears glisten in some eyes and souls are stirred with emotion. It is indeed a glorious privilege to be an American, either native-born or adopted.

"As darkness falls, lights gleam through hundreds of tents walls. From their interior come songs and laughter, tinkling mandolin with strumming banjo accompaniment. In the Oklahoma tents, next to the four tents occupied by the New Mexicans, a Kiowa war dance is being performed; the minister on the New Mexico team sings a Jemez Pueblo song. Other men are strolling down to the sandy beach, perhaps for a swim, and then to the Y. M. C. A. or the Knights of Columbus huts. There is always something doing, something clean, wholesome, something that cheers, something that recalls home, father, mother, wife, sweet-

heart, sister, brother, son, or daughter. Both places are always crowded. There is music - lots of it. There are books, magazines and papers, and high class entertainment. Wednesday is 'movie' night. Tonight at the 'Y' is a concert by a professional company. Last night the fun opened with a 'community sing.' It is a veritable revelation to hear hundreds of lusty, masculine voices join in 'Smile, Smile!' or in the gospel and the army songs. Last night they tried a new one, 'Ohio,' a state song that has a fine swing to it. Other state songs were called for and 'Miss Garrett's 'Oh, Fair New Mexico,' as well as Mrs. Bartlett's tuneful 'New Mexico Song,' caught the fancy of the crowd. After the 'sing,' a noted elocutionist recited 'Strong Heart,' which too had its special New Mexico appeal because of its Indian motive. But for a few officers' wives in the front seat, the elocutionist would have been the only woman in that hall so crowded with men that they sat and stood on the writing tables ranged along the four walls of the room. Except during the thunderous applause there was the closest attention, the deepest silence, no coming late or leaving early. The speaker declared that never had any audience in America or Europe so thrilled her.

"At the Knights of Columbus hut which is kept neat as a pin and most inviting all the time, with a hearty welcome for every one, a candlelight dance was the feature. A few young women from Port Clinton chaperoned by wives of officers had been drafted but furnished far too few partners so that many of the men danced with each other. Candles sputtered on the writing tables around the walls and every once in a while some fun-loving soldier would seize a candle and make the rounds of the girls, lighting up their faces, in order to detect his promised partner. The music was martial and included many of the newest war songs woven into dance music, so that dancers and spectators would join in singing them, the effect being inspiring and unforgettable.

"At the same time, the Marines had a camp-fire at

which the commanding officers of the camp and the New Mexico team were the guests of honor and squatted on low folding stools in the first circle around the burning logs. The entertainment was surprising because of its character. The reputation of the Marines as indomitable fighters so justified by subsequent events, led the crowd to expect something real wild and wooly. Instead, the opening number was a recitation by E. J. Feemster, a mild-spoken, mild-mannered, and mild-looking New Mexico crack-shot of the U. S. Biological Survey. He recited "When Ruby played the Piano." No one present seemed to think the number incongruous. The crowd followed every word and sentence with evident interest. The men laughed, shouted and applauded the clever impersonation. Even the Colonel wearing the Croix de Guerre and other decorations, laughed until tears rolled down his cheeks. Then came a sailor with an accordeon. He played not war songs, but ballads of home and mother. The marines and the rest of the crowd took up the songs with vigor. The favorite seemed to be "Silver Threads among the Gold," for it was called for again and again and each time it was sung with increased verve. Surely an inexplicable revelation of American character but that somehow fitted into sentimental traits that manifested themselves unexpectedly on all fronts during the war! As stated editorially in the Los Angeles Times:

"In the finals it appears that the favorite hymn of the trenches was 'Abide With Me.' 'Tis a grand old hymn and the wide love of it shows there's a strain of reverence at the bottom of every careless and impulsive heart. It will be with us long after the jazz stuff has been pigeon-holed in the musical morgue."

"In another part of the camp, the sailors had put on a boxing bout and a jiu-jitsu exhibition. The affair was conducted with the orderliness of a prayer meeting. At 9 o'clock 'taps' and by ten 'lights out.' Guards paced to and fro and their challenges sounding through the night air proclaimed eternal vigilance whether earth is fair with moonlight or shrouded by storms."

Another letter by a New Mexican in a New Mexico paper describes his first impressions as follows:

"The recruit is handed an Enfield rifle out of 'cosmoline' pickle. It oozes and drips grease all over. It is his task to clean the gun and it's sure some fun to watch how gingerly some men grasp the gun and to witness their evident agony in cleaning it, a good two or three hours job. Incidentally the recruit is learning more than perhaps he ever knew before about guns. Woe to him if at inspection he hasn't cleaned the rifle 'in'ards' and 'out'ards, and the inspecting officer finds as much as a tuft of lint in the bore. The recruit's next experience is at the commissary where he is doled out an aluminum kit of cup, fork, knife, spoon, patent plate and a tin wash basin. That is his entire eating and washing outfit and he sometimes failed to get the latter. At first it takes some resourcefulness to make these few utensils suffice for a bountiful breakfast like that of this morning which consisted of the following menu, all served at once however and not in courses, so that you had to pile it all on the plate, the lid, and in the cup:

Grapes.

Dried Apricots.

Corn Flakes, Milk, Sugar.

Shirred Eggs.

Hamburger.

Jam.

White Bread, Butter.

Coffee, Milk, Sugar.

"You get all you can grab and pile on your dishes. The men, it is certain, often gorged themselves, and that without suffering any discomfort. Because of the 'nippy' air at 6 a. m. the hot coffee is poured down by the pints. As each man finishes, he takes his dirty dishes and joins a line outside to take his turn at the out-of-doors dish-washing contrivance, consisting of three huge galvanized iron tubs placed on a primitive brick oven heated by wood-fire. Two of the tubs are filled with soap water steaming hot, while the middle tank has luke-warm rinsing water. After each

man has swung his dishes in the hot soap water several times and rinsed them he lets them dry in his tent.

"Tonight both the 'Y' and the 'K. of C.' huts were jammed to the doorknobs. A Toledo orchestra and 'jazz' band rendered a program at the former that pleased the men. At the latter there was an officers' dance in honor of the hundred and more men who had been commissioned that day. At the 'K. of C.' hut all the dances take place, averaging three or four a week, while the 'Y' is the center for music, lectures, and motion pictures, both huts being thronged all day with men writing home or reading the magazines and books. At both there are religious services every Sunday. Three thousand letters were mailed at the 'Y. M. C. A.' yesterday. Nine of every ten were addressed to women, one half of them to 'Mrs.' and the other half to 'Miss.' The 'Y' Secretary made the actual count. Draw your own conclusions, but it is evident that mother, wife, sister, daughter and sweetheart are mighty near to the men's minds while they are at the 'Y' and in the 'K. of C.' hut.

"In the Officers' Auditorium above their mess hall, there are lectures of a technical nature every evening. Attendance is compulsory. Military discipline is enforced and yet, before the lecturer appears on the platform, the men frolic and sing. Some one has said that Americans unlike other peoples do not sing, but in the camps there was singing at work, at play, and on the march. It did one's heart good to listen to those young officers singing the college and war songs and at times gospel hymns, with a vim that was overwhelming in its appeal. Tonight, a British officer lectured on 'Front Line Intelligence,' revealing an intricate and scientific system of gathering information about the enemy that requires long and careful training of men with special qualifications. Last evening, a French officer lectured on 'Scouting,' and disclosed that there is a good deal more of science and technique in modern warfare than there was in the wars of other days. In fact, the fighting forces are learning new wrinkles continually and

the reconnaissance scout is becoming a highly trained specialist. An American lieutenant-colonel gave an interesting lecture on 'sighting,' 'windage,' and other phases of rifle practice. Like all the other lecturers he had been in the actual fighting on the western front. A staff-officer, America's greatest authority on the rifle, the author of several books on rifle practice, spoke on his specialty. This morning in a group, the New Mexicans listened to a thorough explanation of the 22- and 45- automatic revolvers, wicked-looking and dangerous weapons at short range. As a matter of fact, the officers had much more of a grind each day than the privates. They had to conform to many a tradition that the privates had left behind them in civilian life, and they had in consequence much less fun out of camp life than did their men."

Merely another impression of Camp Perry as described in the Santa Fe New Mexican of September 17: "Today is a gloriously sunny day, and many were the visitors to the rifle range, which is a vast, lush-green meadow, bounded on the north by the waters of Lake Erie and rimmed on the east and west with groves of trees and fertile fields. Above head circled one of the new battle planes from Camp Wright. She is a beauty with speed of 150 miles an hour and altitude record of over 10,000 feet. To the fore and to the aft, Lewis machine-guns are mounted. The whirr of the engines made a weird accompaniment to the uninterrupted fire on the various ranges. On the west of the field a nest of trenches, sand-bag embankments and concrete defense works had been built for instruction purposes. One force of infantry was trying to hold them, while another force was attacking. Nearby is a ruined 'French farmhouse,' while clumps of trees, windbreaks, stumps, towers, tanks, shell-holes, etc., give temporary cover to the attacking infantry. To the south, the rows upon rows of tents reflect the rays of the setting sun. Verily, one has 'seen the Glory of the Lord,' in this martial scene that symbolizes the might of a great Nation enlisted in a righteous cause."

The nerve center of the camp was in a modest two story frame building that served as camp headquarters. It was as busy as a beehive with clerks, and orderlies dashing to and fro, and typewriters clicked in every room. Regimental and company headquarters were in tents. The telegraph offices adjoined the headquarters building. Then came the postoffice handling as vast a volume of mail as big city offices but without near the facilities and but a fraction of the room and comfort to be found in any second class office. Next in line, on the main street, was the canteen and it was thronged all day long. It was a typical country department store, in which one could buy ice-cream cones and soft drinks and it was astounding how much of these were consumed daily. In the back was a short lunch counter and it simply coined money despite the liberal mess. The Knights of Columbus, the Y. M. C. A. huts, the railroad station, the officers' mess hall and auditorium,—a substantial concrete building,—were all on this street. The camp was adequately policed and there was a noteworthy absence of crime or even petty offences. It is a high tribute to American manhood, that there was a striking camaraderie, an avoidance of petty meanness, a punctual compliance with the rules for the welfare of the camp. How much of this spirit the men took with them into civil life when they were mustered out it is, of course, hard to estimate, but it justified perhaps, some of the extravagant predictions one heard of the change that the War would bring to community life and community activities.

In New Mexico, Camp Cody, with more than 30,000 men at one time, revealed other angles of communal life. The men coming from certain states being grouped together were more homogeneous. They came mostly from sections of the United States which in topography and climate, differ very much from the country round about Deming. There was some complaint about dust storms, about climatic rigors that the men had not expected to find so far south. There were delays in providing equipment at first, and

there was a lack of ordinary comforts, all of which was reflected in the camp life. There were occasional incidents that are not pleasant to record and which made work for the federal courts. There was much grumbling, so much so, that investigations were made personally by governors or delegations from middle western states. The New Mexico men stationed at Camp Cody were much more pleased with the Camp than were the middle westerners. In most respects, camp life at Cody, however, was very much as it was elsewhere, with the United War Work organizations looking after the welfare of the men, providing for them amusements and comforts. The State turned over to the Camp Community Service the national guard armory at Deming which was transformed into a club for the men. Dr. Walter H. Macpherson in charge of it visited cities in the Southwest to interest the public in his work. At Santa Fe he made a stirring address at the New Museum and there inaugurated a movement to send out traveling art exhibits to Camp Community Clubs, the Museum dispatching one of the first of such exhibits to Deming, whence it went to the Kkâki Club at El Paso. Camp Cody had its hostess houses with the Y. W. C. A. in charge, and also an A. L. A. library with several branches. New Mexico libraries contributed thousands of volumes for this work, the Camp Cody library being assigned to them especially.

Wherever troops were stationed, the men made themselves felt in the life of nearby communities. In New Mexico, for instance, hundreds of officers and men from Camp Cody made the pilgrimage to Santa Fe to take the higher degrees of Scottish Rite Masonry and then to Albuquerque to be initiated into the Shrine.

Camp Kearny was classed as, perhaps, the most desirable camp of all. While it had its troubles too, and worked for the first few months under decided disadvantages, toward the end of the war it became a model camp, and from coast to coast probably nine out of every ten men would have chosen it in preference to others. Many of the New Mexico

men were at this camp, and here especially, development battalions, improvement and Americanization classes, and welfare work reached a high level.

At Camp Kitchener, Albuquerque, established by the State early in the War to receive the recruits for the federalized New Mexico national guard, camp activities were on the most primitive basis. It was before the days of Y. M. C. A. and other United War Work on the elaborate scale which it assumed later. The buildings and equipment were of the crudest, although the best that could be provided on so short notice and with inadequate means. Still the men enjoyed it and retain pleasant memories of their sojourn there.

New Mexico had its student army training schools at the University, at the State College, mechanical training classes at the latter also, and of course, capacity work continued at the Military Institute. At those institutions, life kept much of the aspect of college days, liberalized at one extreme by the military training, and made more rigid at the other by military discipline, but flowing on from day to day as in time of peace.

There were isolated posts and camps along the Mexican border, especially at Columbus and at Hachita, where many of the agencies that made life pleasant at the larger camps and cantonments were not at work and where life at times grew monotonous, but even there the community spirit asserted itself in various and pleasant forms.

As one reads the columns of "Trench and Camp" published in the larger camps and cantonments, or talks with the men who have been mustered out, or recalls days even amidst the discomforts and terrible scenes at the front, there is apt to be born the wish that the country might retain something of the community life that was fostered under the aegis of war; that even in days of piping peace, and feverish reconstruction, there might be an annual gathering of men in camps and cantonments to lead the life of the open under the discipline and with the simpli-

city of camp and trench. Among the right sort of men,-and it is certain that most men are of the right sort,-there was developed something fine in spirit, something big in outlook, which in New Mexico as elsewhere should become permanent in community activities and that should be made a part of the training of every youth before he essays into life. If the training was good for the rigorous demands of war it certainly would be beneficial in preparation for the multitudinous tasks of peace.

PAUL A. F. WALTER

X At the Front

Twenty miles north of Toul, France, is the little village of Roulecourt. There it was my privilege as a Red Cross out-post Canteen worker to see a number of our New Mexico boys in their first introduction to the front. It was a so-called quiet sector, the Kindergarten of war in France. There the 1st Division and the 26th made their debut; then the 82nd, whose officers were almost entirely made up of men from Georgia and Alabama,-ideal, brave Southern gentlemen, whose men were from the South and East. Then to my delight came the 89th — so many of whose officers were from the West — Gen. Wood's division, compelled, however, to serve without him — trained at Camp Funston, Kansas, and in the main composed of farm boys from Kansas, Iowa and Missouri — wonderful men. To my surprise, there were many boys from New Mexico mingled with these. To see the Mexican boys in that far away country, so far removed from the quaint little villages from which the greater number of them had traveled scarcely fifty miles before, and in this land of chilling rain — a desperate contrast to our almost perpetual sunshine — gave a little stronger tug at my heart strings than the sight of our other American boys. To have seen those faces light up

at the familiar sound of "Como Esta, Amigo" sprung un-awares at them while patrolling a lonesome dark road in the beating rain, is never to be forgotten. There were boys from Mora, Las Vegas, Santa Fe, Las Cruces — every place in New Mexico seemingly represented in that one regiment in my district.

Will they ever forget the towns of Roulecourt, Bouconville, Rombecourt and Xivray? Will the members of each battalion of the 356th regiment forget the first dark night when it formed in Roulecourt, the position of support, to march up to Bouconville and Rombecourt from which they entered the front line trenches for the first time — muddy, wet, chilled through, not knowing how far the German trenches were away (only 560 yards)? Can they forget the first daylight which revealed Mt. Sec a little more than a half a mile away — the supposedly impregnable position of the Boche? Those first eight days in the trenches! What a relief it was to march back to the town which was the position of rest six miles back of Roulecourt! I hope, too, they have not forgotten the hot chocolate it was my privilege to hand out to them as they passed back through Roulecourt at two in the morning — tired and sleepy from the strain of those first days and nights in the trenches. And the six military police stationed in the French town of Brussy — three of them New Mexico boys — can they forget that battered village and the picturesque old French fire place over which they cooked their meals?

One can imagine the natural feeling of timidity with which those boys first entered the dark, muddy ditches, but it is almost impossible to realize the change in them after the second time in, the confidence and then the eagerness with which they awaited the final step in their war training — going over the top. This they did with all the bravery we had expected of them on Sept. 12th, the start of the San Mihiel drive. Part of this Division, in which were a number of our New Mexico boys, was the 342nd Machine Gun Company, stationed in the woods to the right of Roulecourt,

located at intervals in little groups, each group with a machine gun, waiting for many days, totally ignorant of what the next move would be, shelled at intervals with gas and shrapnel. Many of these little machine gun posts contained one or more boys from this State. In those dismal woods was their first introduction to the war, and although tame in comparison to the real hell they went through later, those first impressions must ever remain with them. Further to our right other regiments of the 89th Division, the 353, 354 and 356, were badly gassed in similar woods. Eight hundred men were victims of it, among whom were many New Mexico boys. All this was before the beginning of their real work on September 12th.

The little town of Xivray — it was a town once but then only picturesque ruins — was located about three hundred yards out in "No Man's Land," and used only as an observation post where five men of the 356th were kept posted to guard against surprise attacks. Tobacco, sweet chocolate and magazines looked awfully good to whatever men were sojourning there for the three day watch. On one trip there I was accompanied by Marion Barker of Las Vegas of the 356th and to our surprise we found one of the five guards was a Pueblo Indian from Laguna, while the sergeant was also from New Mexico. So in that little out-post in "No Man's Land" that day, out of seven men, there were four of us from New Mexico.

I must not forget the 21st Regiment of Railway Engineers who had worked so faithfully in that sector from January until Sept. 12th, doing much of their work in the same interesting woods to the right of Roulecourt in which the 342nd Machine Gun Company was located. Many of these men were former employees of the Santa Fe Railway. Many had pulled trains through our New Mexico mountains. Oh, the pleasure and pride to see them in that ever dangerous, man's work, night and day, subject to aeroplane bombing, and artillery fire! The derailments on that happy-go-lucky but all important little narrow gauge rail-

way were much more frequent than on our dear old Santa Fe system. Those of us from New Mexico all longed for a Harvey House meal occasionally!

At Boullionville, quite near Metz, where I moved to after Sept. 12th, a small flat field in front of my canteen was occupied by the supply company of the 353th regiment, 89th Division. Being invited to eat with a small group about a cheerful looking camp fire I was delighted to find a Spanish-American boy cooking the first meal I had with them. They took turns at this, however. Later they were forced to abandon this field as a picnic ground because the Boche formed an unpleasant habit of dropping a shell or two on the flat promptly at meal times.

Those of our New Mexico boys who return from the front — many will not — have endured what is impossible to describe adequately to those who had not the privilege of seeing them there — the danger of the submarine and that of the ever present German aeroplane, the terrors of the awful gas and the discomfort of being wet and chilled through, week after week, and more than once advancing through dark forests with a rain of machine gun bullets pattering around them. While viewing the daily aerial combats and when looking up at some allied plane hovering above us for our protection, we could not help wondering if among those aviators there might not be a New Mexico boy. Without doubt many a time there was one of them hovering 15000 feet up, helping protect, among others, boys from his own state.

Let us never forget those of them who lie buried in France. Let us never cease to honor those who return. I shall never forget the one or cease to honor the other, for I have seen them at their work.

ASHLEY POND

NOTE. It would please the writer greatly to hear from or see any of the boys he met who may remember him as the Red Cross Lieut. in charge of out-post No. 2 first located at Roulecourt and later at Boullionville. Those who

may remember my fellow worker, Lieut. Fred Barker, will I know grieve to learn that he was killed by a shell.

XI The Cost and the Gain

A final appraisalment of either the cost or the gains of such an enormous enterprise as the late war, is impossible at the present time. Decades must elapse and conclusions must be reached in the calm reflection of the years. However it will be of interest and possibly profit to those who study the Great War in future time to have at hand the impressions of those who lived in the great years of 1914-18. This brief chapter will merely seek to reflect what appears to be the sentiment of thinking people at this time.

What the war cost us in effort, in time taken from our customary occupations, in money contributions directly and indirectly, has been to some extent set forth in previous chapters. In material possessions our people in New Mexico are not affluent. The average wealth per capita is low. The great majority live by simple industrial pursuits — small farming, stock raising, and various forms of wage earning.

Nevertheless, it has always been a matter of note that when it came to charity, to education or other public enterprises, taxation was never withheld and always popular subscription yielded surprising results. When the time came to raise the large sums necessary to meet the quota imposed by the various war services, it required something more than blind optimism, it required downright faith in our people; and that faith was justified. The promptness and excessive measure with which each call was met should stir the pride of every New Mexican. And when one thinks of the actual privation that was necessary in thousands of instances in order to share in the various patriotic services,

one must feel that the finest and noblest in all our national life is not to be sought in far and exceptional places, but is right here in the humble homes of our own communities.

However gratifying it may be to recall the liberality of our material contributions, it must be remembered that this was comparatively insignificant. War's imperative call is for men, and New Mexico responded with her full quota. Over seventeen thousand lives were tendered and of these five hundred and one were given up in the service of the country. These are New Mexico's immortals. "Tomorrow shall be the flower of all its yesterdays" runs the Spanish proverb. Truly, the tomorrows that we shall enjoy will be fragrant with the memory of the true and faithful sons of New Mexico who joined the almost innumerable company who died in these years of struggle.

And be it not forgotten, as we immortalize the heroes whose lives were accepted in the great sacrifice, that nearly seventeen thousand more freely made the same offer and went into the conflict with every reason to expect the same sacrifice. These met, like true men, the supreme crisis in our history. To them, sobered by heavy responsibilities and broadened by the vision of wider horizons, we of the older generation can, with the utmost confidence, submit the civic duties of the future. What greater safe-guard could there be of the people and of the state than this body of men disciplined to prompt and effective action, already tried and proven in a great crisis?

When we count the cost of the war, we may write off as of little consequence, all save the lives that were given. These were beyond price. No one can estimate the value of a life just ready to face the duties and opportunities of the world. What futures awaited some of those who sleep on European battle fields, who went down at sea, or who died in preparation for the day of action, no one need speculate, for no greater honor could have come to any one of them, no greater service would have been possible. Through all the ages, and doubtless it will ever be so, death on the

battlefield in defense of right has been esteemed the supreme glory to which men could attain.

In this connection there is one glorious fact which should be known in every home in this land. The Board of Historical Service for New Mexico received hundreds of letters from the parents, wives, and sisters of the young men who died in service and among them all, no matter how awful the loss, how great the deprivation, there is not a single instance of complaint that the nation asked so much, nor of regret that the cherished one went to the duty that claimed his life. On the contrary, in the words of deepest grief one invariably detects the note of exultant glory in the life bravely given for country and humanity.

In all the records of this war there will be none more precious than the letters above referred to, answering our inquiries concerning the boys killed in action or who died in service from other causes. The note of modest affection and pride, and that of restrained religious feeling is noticeably prevalent. "He was just an honest, sober Christian boy who loved his home and was good to all of us. Everybody liked him. He was so anxious to go that he could hardly wait to be called. We are very proud of our soldier boy." These words epitomize these letters. They reveal the fact that there were spiritual forces in this war that are vital to its history which may not be overlooked in writing the record for posterity. If America had the finest, cleanest army ever put into the field, it was because her soldiers had the finest, cleanest homes of the world in which to develop their manhood.

Thus while in a very real sense we find the cost of the war immeasurable, there is that incalculable compensation in exalted patriotism and consciousness of noble sacrifice that is beyond price.

Turning to the immediate gains, we are first struck with the fact that from the standpoint of material profits, we return from Europe empty handed. Former foreign wars have yielded us enormous possessions. From

this one we do not expect a dollar of indemnity for the billions spent, nor would we accept the cession of a square-yard of territory. It would seem at first thought an enormous adventure resulting in total loss.

But money is not everything. Its limit as a measure of value is soon reached. Ultimate worth must be expressed in other than monetary terms. There is a set of values that are both economic and moral. Of this class were the various conservation activities. In addition to the economic considerations, the war taught us that waste, improvidence, is downright immorality. It is a substantial gain to a people to experience the satisfaction of laying something by, of owning something that will safeguard the future. Investments in Liberty Bonds and thrift stamps and the conservation of food and other materials for the general good, are potent factors in character making.

Closely related to economic conservation is the question of human improvement. Never before have we had a thorough appraisalment of our human resources. For years systematic evaluation of economic resources has been customary. The prospective crops, of grain and live stock, are estimated and reported months in advance, but there has been no exact knowledge of the available man power of the country. No one could give much information as to the condition of the children or their prospects for reaching useful maturity. The unnecessary loss of children was appalling; the amount of preventable disease and consequent misery and poverty among adults no less so. Of a million men in the prime of life, scarcely half were fit for duties requiring high efficiency.

The war brought these questions to the front and in such an imperative way that they at once ceased to be debatable and commanded instant action. The army called for men of maximum power; men free from disease, clear eyed, alert in all their senses. Health was promptly made obligatory. Army traditions of long standing were swept away wholesale; the moral code of the soldier became higher

than that of the college student of past years. Army life was freer from vice than civilian life. Eagerly our young men obeyed the call to physical and moral cleanliness. It became the pride of the soldier. It seems a bit strange that it was not to the colleges and universities that our young men went to learn and prize the highest attributes of manhood, but to the training camp. What university executive will take the lead in demanding that student life shall be as clean as soldier life is now required to be?

The prospect of huge losses of the male population turned attention to the saving of infant life, and from one end of the country to the other the physical and mental examination of the children was started. As a result, childhood is in a fair way to get a square deal. The right of the child to a clean ancestry, to a wholesome birth, to protection from infection, to freedom from physical, mental and moral contamination during the period of helplessness, to sanitary food and clothing and shelter, and to education is a mandate of our time. The state that lacks child conservation laws will soon be considered uncivilized. Banish the handicaps of childhood — bad heredity, infections, malnutrition, ignorance, and the fight against poverty and crime is won.

Women gained in four years what they have been struggling centuries to obtain. As the women of the country silently stepped into place in every line of activity, short of actual battle, and with marvelous devotion and unsuspected endurance stood up to the hardest tasks, it became obvious that here was a line of defense not to be ignored. In every sense they were fighters. They fought to send subsistence to the front. They fought disease. They fought for the lives of the wounded. They toiled with needle and sewing machine until they were ready to drop, but none ever fell. If called to danger they faced it boldly, for the risk of life is no new experience to them. Courageous, determined, quick-witted—they were from the first like veterans in the promptness and precision with which they

went to their tasks. They did not wait to be mobilized. "Drives" were not necessary to spur them to action. They reached to the uttermost limits of the war; not a returning soldier but testifies that whether in camp or cantonment, on land or sea or in the air, in front line trenches and in the valley of the shadows, he was never beyond the reach of what women were doing for him. In the fires of this conflict mens' souls have been purged and the New Chivalry is born. Count this among the supreme gains. It is safe to say that henceforth no civilized country will underrate the worth of its women in public affairs, and even in war their place will be as important, as honorable, as that of the men.

Accompanying the rapid development of the human welfare movement, it was inevitable that the question of state, and ultimately of national prohibition, should come to the fore. It was met by the State of New Mexico a few weeks prior to our coming into the war with a state prohibition law, to be followed up, as everyone knows, in the early days of 1919, with a nation wide prohibition amendment to the Constitution of the United States. Looking back over the ages of self-destruction, of inhuman abuse of women and children, of crime in every form, of waste and disease and degeneracy chargeable to the liquor business, it seems unbelievable that the fight should have been so long a well nigh hopeless one. That the sudden ending of this vast curse was contemporaneous with the great war was no mere chance. It required the discipline of that vast conflict to plant the idea of race preservation in the public mind. The victory of prohibition equals the triumph over the enemy. In material gains alone it has already paid the cost of the war.

EDGAR L. HEWETT

MUSIC TEACHING IN NEW MEXICO IN THE
SEVENTEENTH CENTURYThe Beginnings
of Music Education in the United States

Although historians of American music have unanimously proclaimed Boston as the cradle of American music and music education, such statements have been made only through ignorance of facts established by existing Spanish historical documents which give that honor to New Mexico. It has merely seemed logical, since writers of United States history trace all movements westward from the Atlantic coast, to assume that music education should have followed the same general direction. Such an assumption, however, disregards the fact that the Spaniards began the conquest of North America a century before the English; that the Spanish frontier had been pushed northward from Mexico City to beyond the Rio Grande before the Pilgrims landed; and that music was employed, on no small scale, by the Spaniards as a means of conquest.

While the Spaniards were musical people, it was not the personal tastes of the conquistadores which determined the attention given to music in North America in the 16th and 17th centuries. The first missionaries who landed at Vera Cruz in 1523 found that music was one of the most direct and effective means by which the Indians could be induced to accept the semblances of Christianity and civilization. By 1527 Pedro de Gante had established in Mexico City a school which gave special attention to the training of musicians. In this institution, especially during the next half century, singers and players of many instruments were prepared to serve the church in its missionary ef-

forts.¹ Prayers were taught to the natives set to some familiar chant; orchestras were employed to add charm to the services; and song and dance were encouraged as diversions among the people.

As the mission work spread beyond the Valley of Mexico, schools, monasteries, and churches continued to further the efforts of church officials to teach the natives music. In this they had the united support of the king and the Council of the Indies. In response to petitions of the missionaries, Charles V wrote the provincial of the Franciscans in Mexico City in 1540 to send out, to those best fitted to use them, singers and players of reed instruments "because with music they will be able to attract the Indians . . . more quickly to a knowledge of our Holy Faith."² In 1573 a decree was passed directing the authorities in Mexico to employ music of singer and instruments for the purpose of "soothing, pacifying, and influencing" the Indians who were indisposed to accept peacefully Catholicism and Spanish rule.³ This was especially applicable to the Indians of northern Mexico who, being wandering tribes, had to be attracted to mission life before there could be hope of educating them along any line.

Five years before Charles V authorized the sending of singers and musicians to take part in the conquest, news had come to the viceroy of Mexico of a wonderland far to the north. Thither Fray Marcos de Niza wended his way, only to return with still more glowing accounts. To secure this region for the Spanish king, Coronado was sent north in 1540 with an army of followers. Up the west coast and the Yaqui River, then across the Gila, and northwards they traveled in quest of the Great Quivira, but it was only a lure; Quivira was not found. Instead, Indian

1. Spell, L., "The first teacher of European music in North America," in *Catholic Historical Quarterly*, New Series, II, (Oct. 1922) 372-378.

2. *Fragmentos de la Crónica de la Provincia de Franciscanos de Santiago de Xalisco*, Tomo I. In *Colección de Documentos para la Historia de Mexico*, reunidas y publicados por el Lic. Eufemio Mendoza (Mexico, 1871), 333-334.

3. *Recopilación de Leyes de los Reynos de las Indias* (Madrid, 1681), Lib. I, tit. I, ley iiiii.

towns of thatched huts, or the homes of the pueblo dwellers, met the disappointed gaze of the Spaniards who had come in search of gold, jewels, and a great civilization. After two years of search for the dream city, all returned to Mexico except a few priests who were permitted but a short lease on life before meeting the certain doom which awaited a European among the Indians of New Mexico. Among the victims was Juan de Padilla, who only a few years before had been active in training Indian singers on the western frontier.⁴

During the next half century it seemed that New Mexico was almost forgotten except by some few adventurers and missionaries. But by the time the outlying missions had reached the Conchos River in Chihuahua, Oñate, a conquistador, braved the unoccupied regions beyond and entered New Mexico. With him went, at the king's expense, a band of friars supplied with bells and musical instruments; these Franciscans were scattered among the Pueblo Indians as soon as the towns were reduced to submission. Their efforts at pacification were but a repetition of those of the first missionaries in the Valley of Mexico, but due to the difference in type of the Indians with whom they labored in New Mexico, the results were neither so rapid nor so remarkable.

As far as available records show, the first music teacher who worked within the confines of the present United States was a Mexican, Cristóbal de Quiñones, who belonged to the Franciscan order. He probably entered New Mexico as a member of Oñate's colony between 1598 and 1604,⁵ for Vetancurt tells us that before his death in 1609, he had learned the language of the Queres Indians, erected the church and monastery at San Felipe, installed an organ in the chapel there, and taught many of the natives

4. Tello, Antonio, *Libro Segundo de la Crónica Miscelanea* (Guadalajara, 1891), 204. Also *Fragmentos*, 59; and Beaumont, Pablo de, *Crónica de la Provincia de los Santos Apóstoles S. Pedro y S. Pablo de Michoacán* (Mexico, 1873), III, 503-4.

5. Benavides, Alonso, *The Memorial of Fray Alonso de Benavides 1630* (Chicago, 1916), 198. Notes by F. W. Hodge.

so successfully that they were skilled singers of the church services.⁶ At the time that Jamestown was founded, and thirteen years before the Pilgrims set fort on the Massachusetts coast, New Mexico could not only boast of a music teacher who had enjoyed the benefits of a musical education such as the church schools of that day afforded, but was in possession of an organ.

The next music teacher of record in New Mexico is Bernardo de Marta, a Spaniard who came to America about 1600. He was sent to New Mexico in 1605. One of the old chroniclers tells us that "he was a great musician and was called the organist of the skies; he taught many of the natives in various towns to play and sing." This work he continued until his death in Zia, September 18, 1635.

Among the other teachers of music in New Mexico, Friar García de San Francisco y Zúñiga deserves especial mention. He was in New Mexico by 1630, for in that year he was left in charge of the church and monastery which his companion, Antonio de Arteaga, founded at Senecú. In this church, an organ was installed by Friar García.* In December, 1659, he founded the mission of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe at El Paso, of which the chapel was dedicated in 1668. At this mission Friar García remained until after 1671. He died and was buried at Senecú in 1673.⁹ While no direct statement has been found that Friar García had an organ in this church, or that he engaged in music teaching while at the El Paso mission, his evident interest in the music of the church, as shown by the installation of the organ at Senecú, suggests that he did no less for the mission which he served for over ten years.

The most famous of the missionaries to New Mexico was Alonso de Benavides, whose memorial to the king of

6. Vetancurt, Agustin de, *Menológico Franciscano* (Mexico, 1698), 43.

7. *Ibid.*, 103.

8. Vetancurt *Teatro Mexicano, Crónica*, pt. 4, trat. 3. cap. xxviii, 98.

9. *Ibid*; Hughes, A., "The Beginnings of Spanish Settlements in the El Paso District," in *University of California Publications in History*, I, no 3, 306-309. See also notes to Ayer's translation of the Benavides Memorial, 205.

Spain in 1630 gives the best existing account of the province at that time.¹⁰ Santa Fe was still the only Spanish settlement. There were friars working in twenty-five missions which served ninety pueblos comprising some 60,000 Indians. At each mission a school similar in type to that of Pedro de Gante was maintained — here the Indians were taught reading, writing, manual arts, singing and instrumental music. Monasteries had been established among the various tribes. In connection with each monastery there was always a school in which music was taught; sometimes special music schools were maintained.

Among the Piros three monasteries had been founded; one at Senecú—evidently that supplied with an organ by Friar García, one at Pilabó, and one at Sevilleta. Each of these had under its charge the neighboring pueblos. In the monasteries the friars taught singing, reading and writing, with insistence that the Indians live in civilized fashion.¹¹ Among the Tiwas, there were two monasteries, at San Francisco de Sandia and at San Antonio de Isleta. "At these," Benavides says, "there are schools of reading and writing, singing, and playing all instruments."¹² These monasteries and their chapels were especially costly and beautiful. In the monastery of the Pecos district the Indians were well trained in all the crafts, in reading, writing, singing, and instrument playing.¹³ In connection with the conversion of the Navajo Apaches, the use of bells, trumpets, and clarions is mentioned. Benavides comments here on the success of the missionaries as music teachers, "for it is [a thing for which] to praise the Lord to see in so little time so many chapels with the organ-chant."¹⁴

Benavides himself commenced the church and monas-

10. Benavides, Alonso, *The Memorial of Fray Alonso de Benavides 1630* (Chicago, 1916). Translated by Mrs. Ayer.

11. *Ibid.*, 17-19.

12. *Ibid.*, 19-20

13. *Ibid.*, 21-22

14. *Ibid.*, 67. Cf. Benj. Read's translation in his *History of New Mexico*, pp. 695 and 708. He translates *canto de órgano* as "singing with organ accompaniment." Even the Ayer translation might be improved here.

tery at Santa Fe in 1622. Of the latter he tells us that in 1629 the "Religious teach Spaniards and Indians to read and write, to play [instruments] and sing . . ." As evidence of the progress wrought by Christian teachings, he says:

. . . and the boys and girls who always come morning and evening to the Doctrine, attend with very great care [and] without fail; and the choristers in the chapels change about by their weeks [week by week], and sing every day in the church, at their hours, the Morning Mass, High Mass, and Vespers, with great punctuality.¹⁵

From such evidence it seems safe to conclude that there were schools in New Mexico before 1630 in which music was taught. As in central Mexico, probably more attention was given to music than to any other subject of the curriculum; at any rate it is reasonable to believe that as regards the instruments taught and the general importance of music in the curriculum of the monastic schools, the schools of New Mexico did not differ materially from other schools of the era concerning which there is extant a greater wealth of data.

Much of the history of New Mexico after 1630 is still unwritten, but various items gleaned from miscellaneous unpublished documents throw some light on the progress of the work of the church in connection with music. In reporting on conditions in New Mexico, Juan Prado, a Franciscan, states that the Indians were taught to sing with such success that it was indeed marvellous to find so many "bands of musicians to sing with the organ" and the services in such small churches performed with so much care and devotion.¹⁶

But trouble was already brewing in the province. The governors and the representatives of the church were not

15. *Ibid.*, 23 and 32.

16. Testimony of Juan Prado before the Inquisition, Sept. 26, 1638, in *Historical Documents relating to New Mexico, Nueva Vizcaya, and Approaches thereto, to 1773*. (Collected by Adolph F. A. Bandelier and Fanny Bandelier. Edited by C. W. Hackett. Washington, 1923), II. *In press*.

in accord: and, as time passed, the dissensions increased. The poor Indians bore the brunt of the trouble. In their ignorance, they knew not which master to obey, but found it impossible to serve both. As a result, the efforts of the missionaries in the educational field were continually hampered by orders of the governors; the Spaniards were forced to side with one or the other faction. As early as 1639 the cabildo of Santa Fe complained to the viceroy of Mexico of the conduct of the religious, charging that they were appropriating church funds to their own uses. The report proceeds:

The same thing occurs in other things that are given for the divine worship in the church of this town, for they say that an altar ornament, an organ, and other things have been given, but they are not there.¹⁷

So the breach widened as the years passed, until the power of the Inquisition was called to the aid of the missionaries, and the governor of the province, Bernardo de Mendizabal (1657-1661), was impeached and taken to Mexico City for trial. In the evidence introduced, he was accused by the friars of having encouraged the Indians in the continuance of their worship of idols and other forms of heathenism, such as dancing the Catzinas — a dance pronounced indecent by the church, but which Mendizabal characterized as harmless and innocent. He was also accused of preventing the singing of mass by having, on one occasion, ordered that the singers who were sent from Cuarac to the Humanas to sing for a special festival should be given fifty lashes each; the natural result being that no more singers would officiate for fear of receiving a similar punishment. All of these charges Mendizabal denied on the witness stand; he asserted that the churches had all the volunteer singers they could use; and that, in addition to a singer and a sacristan, there was also an organist

17. Report of the cabildo of Santa Fe to the viceroy, Feb. 21, 1639, in Hackett, *His. Docs.* II.

wherever there was an organ. All such persons were excused from both tribute and labor, by order of the royal *audiencia*. He proceeded to say that when he reached Santa Fe and found no organ in the church there — a condition he found very improper — he advised the church authorities that, if the instrument was not too expensive, he would pay the expense of bringing one there; in any case that he would bear half of the expense. Much evidence was presented by both sides, but before a verdict was reached, Mendizabal died.¹⁸

Another document setting forth the grievances of the missionaries and some of the accusations against them throws some light on the means sometimes employed in securing funds for the purchase of musical instruments.

Another charge is brought against us, it being said that in some places the Religious receive a few antelope skins in exchange for sustenance or for the crop; we do not deny this charge, as they call it, but indeed it is in very few places that this occurs, and where it happens it is done for the purpose of obtaining for the value of the skins certain ornaments, trumpets, and organs. For one hundred and fifty pesos a year are not sufficient for this as we have to buy wine, wax, incense, and other things, nor would it be fitting, since we can obtain these extra things by this means, for us to insist that everything should be given to us by his Majesty, who is in such need. The same kind of calumny is current this year, for God is good enough to allow certain pine nuts to grow in the forests of five or six towns in this country, and the minister is accustomed to ask his parishioners to gather some of them for the churches, giving them abundant sustenance while they are doing this. From the pine nuts which are gathered and sent to Mexico the proceeds are given to God, for instance recently there was bought a fine organ for the convent of Abó . . .¹⁹

From succeeding events it seems that other governors continued to regard the missionaries as enemies, and to

18. Hackett, *His. Docs.*, II. *In press*.

19. Letter of the father custodio and definadores of New Mexico to the Viceroy of New Spain, Nov. 11, 1659. In Hackett, *His. Docs.*, II.

breed all the trouble possible. The Indians were weary of the friction between the governing forces; perhaps they were weary of being governed at all. Uprisings were frequent, and each became increasingly dangerous to the few Spaniards and missionaries scattered over a vast extent of territory and protected by but few troops. Requests were made to the viceroy for reinforcements, but before any action was taken by the never-too-speedy government in Mexico City — it was too late. By a pre-arranged plan, the natives rose in rebellion in 1680, killed many Spanish settlers and friars, burned their homes, missions, monasteries and churches, and drove those who survived down the Rio Grande. Fifty years of friction between the state and church had brought its reward. The Indians were temporarily free once more from both.

During the last two decades of the seventeenth century the Spaniards attempted to regain control of New Mexico, but their efforts were not crowned with the success which had marked their occupation of the country a century before. For us, the only interest is in the monasteries which survived the rebellion. Among these were Senecú, Alamillo, Sevilleta, Isleta, Alameda, Puray, and Sandia. To these the ever hopeful missionaries returned to take up anew the work of conversion and civilization. Music teaching was continued, but, as the power of Spain declined, there was not the money to carry on the work as widely as had been the case when Spain was at her height. Fewer teachers could be detailed to give musical instruction, and fewer musical instruments were shipped from the capital.

Still, the earlier efforts are worthy of notice. Through them European music was introduced into the United States. The first European music teacher and the first organ ever seen north of the Rio Grande were to be found in New Mexico. Before 1630, many schools were in operation which included music in their curriculum. The first

boy-choirs within the present United States were those which supplied the music for the mission churches of New Mexico. Churches and monasteries were supplied with organs which were transported overland from Mexico City, a six months trip in those days. A century before Boston claims to have had an organ (1713) there were many organs in the "great unknown North," as the Spaniards termed the land of the Pueblos. As far as Spanish dominion extended, there was music. And as in no other respect did Spain leave her impress more indelibly on the life of the people whom she governed, so it seems unlikely that the music of the natives could have escaped from being affected to some extent by the music of the Spaniards which had for them such a great fascination. It may be that closer study of the music of the Indians of New Mexico will reveal many traces of the music of the Spaniards who were their first European teachers. For a love of music was a characteristic alike of the conquered Aztec, the treacherous Apache, the ceremony-loving Pueblo, and the European Spaniard who was their master thru three centuries.

LOTA M. SPELL

The University of Texas

THE FOUNDING OF NEW MEXICO

(Continued)

Chapter IX

The Desertion of the Colony⁵³¹

Oñate's Return from Quivira. It was a sadly depleted capital which welcomed the governor back from his extensive search for new and wealthy provinces in the north. Nearly all the inhabitants of San Gabriel, discouraged and broken in fortune, had taken advantage of his absence and escaped to Santa Bárbara. The poverty of the land and the discipline maintained by Oñate contributed to their misfortune. The story of this episode has never been told in detail. Torquemada gives a brief account of the escape of the settlers, and subsequent writers have followed his narrative.⁵³²

It is now possible to add to this story some of the details. Two lengthy documents from the Spanish archives, and drawn up by two opposing groups, give biased accounts of New Mexico and of the reasons for thus fleeing without authority. The one is a dreary account, seeking to justify the move. The other pictures New Mexico as a remarkable land and condemns as traitors those who deserted.⁵³³

Oñate's Admonition to the Settlers. Before starting for Quivira care had been taken to provide for the permanence of the capital. As lieutenant-governor and captain-

531. This chapter, now slightly revised, was published in the January, 1925, number of the Quarterly Journal of the University of North Dakota.

532. Torquemada, *Monarchía Indiana*, I, 673; cf. Bancroft, *Arizona and New Mexico*, 150-151; Twitchell, *Leading Facts* I, 330.

533. The one is entitled: *Auto del gobernador de Nuevo Mexico y diligencias para que se levante el campo*. San Gabriel, September 7, 1601. The other reads: *Información y papeles que envió la gente que allá quedó haciendo cargos á la que así venia*. San Gabriel, October 2, 1601. Both are in A. G. I., 58-3-15.

general Oñate had appointed Francisco de Sosa y Peñalosa, who up to that time bore the rank of captain and royal ensign. Peñalosa was a man of quality. He was one of those with the largest equipment of personal property of any in the expedition.⁵³⁴ Oñate, however, did not stop here. He took the precaution personally to impress those who remained with the great importance of maintaining the settlement as a base for future operations. "To all those who remained here the governor, with tears in his eyes, entrusted the protection of this settlement as a thing of great importance for the service of his majesty."⁵³⁵ Peñalosa failed in that duty, apparently because he felt that it was hopeless to remain in a barren province and that the movement to desert was therefore justifiable.

Rebellion in the Colony. There is evidence to show that rebellion had been brewing before Oñate left San Gabriel in June, 1601, and that he realized the danger. Perhaps he hoped to checkmate the plans of those suspected of disloyalty by taking them along to Quivira. But if he did succeed in catching some, others with equally bad motives escaped. The most prominent among the latter were the purveyor Diego de Zubia, and captains Pedro Alonso and Alonso Quesada. "Because of the entreaties of the religious he left them in this settlement."⁵³⁶ There they soon stirred up the glowing embers of discontent into open revolt.

Before sedition broke out openly secret plans for deserting were cherished by some of the leaders. Zubia, in particular, was anxious to leave, and soon broached the subject to Sergeant Alonso de la Vega. Both were from

534. Peñalosa came from the Chalchuites mines. He joined the expedition when it was first organized, and had remained loyal throughout the long period of suspension. He was accompanied by his wife, Doña Eufemia, and two sons, Francisco de Sosa Peñalosa and Estevan Yllan de Sosa, aged 24 and 21, respectively. His daughter was Zubia's wife. He possessed twelve carts, (Oñate had only twenty-four) a numerous herd of live-stock, and a large retinue of servants.

535. Testimony of Sergeant Alonso de la Vega on article seven, in *Información y papeles*. Six witnesses swore that Oñate had personally entrusted them with the honor of guarding the capital.

536. Statement of La Vega, in *ibid.* This would indicate that the missionaries were aware of the feeling in the colony.

Durango. At an opportune moment in a conversation when the topic turned to matters at home Zubia exclaimed: "Señor Vega, your grace should not go on the expedition [to Quivira], for it is more important that we return to the land of peace."⁵³⁷

Zubia then unfolded his plan. It happened that he was troubled with a boil on his leg. This unpleasant fact provided him with an excellent excuse for going to Santo Domingo to see a surgeon, the lay brother Damian. Once at Santo Domingo, which was on the road to Mexico, he would feign illness, send for his wife, and then, being fully prepared, depart for New Spain. Vega paid no attention to his scheming, but went with Oñate as he had intended. After having gone about fifty leagues, however, he became ill and had to return. Thereupon he was at once approached by Captains Conde, César, Alonso, and Zubia, who informed him of their secret preparations for going away. They were merely waiting to gather some wheat before starting. Again Vega declined to join them, but within two or three weeks saw that most of the soldiers, aided and abetted by the friars, were publicly talking of abandoning the land. By that time these leaders had succeeded in drawing practically the entire population of the colony to their support.⁵³⁸

The Movement to Desert. It naturally took some time before the plotters dared to make their schemes public, but they do not seem to have encountered much opposition. About do not seem to have encountered much opposition. About two months⁵³⁹ after Oñate's departure for Quivira they had made such progress that public meetings were being held to determine what course of action to pursue. The missionaries took a prominent part in these matters.⁵⁴⁰ It was

537. *Ibid.*

538. *Ibid.*

539. Oñate started for Quivira on June 23, 1601. If La Vega accompanied him fifty leagues he probably returned to San Gabriel about August 1, or shortly afterwards. That would place the outbreak in the latter part of August.

540. Nearly every page of the papers sent to Mexico both by those who de-

soon agreed to move the entire settlement to some better place, and to inform the king and viceroy of the legitimate reasons for leaving New Mexico.

Early in September, 1601, a public meeting was held in the church. It was attended by the officers, soldiers, and five of the missionaries, Fathers San Miguel, Zamora, Izquierdo, Peralta, and Damian Escudero, the latter a lay brother.⁵⁴¹ Two other missionaries were with Oñate.⁵⁴² Another had returned to Mexico a few weeks earlier.⁵⁴³ Father Oliva's name is not mentioned at all. This leaves only Father Escalona, the commissary, unaccounted for, it seems. That he was fully in sympathy with the movement to leave the province is perfectly clear. He declined to take an active part in the movement, probably because of his official position, but the report which he sent to his superiors in Mexico left no doubt of his feelings. Starvation had compelled the colony to go, he pleaded, and so it "became my imperative duty to allow the missionaries who were here to go with them . . . ; and they do not go with the intent of leaving and abandoning this land altogether, but only constrained by necessity."⁵⁴⁴

The gathering was held in order to draw up in proper form the reasons for deserting. The missionaries clearly took the initiative. After mass had been said, Father San Miguel made a speech in which he "discussed many causes, repeating many and diverse times, that it was right that the entire army should leave."⁵⁴⁵ Peñalosa also commented upon the agreement of the soldiers and the missionaries

sented and those who remained bears witness to this fact. The viceroy made the same report to the king. "Discurso y proposición," in *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, XVI, 45

541. Statement of Peñalosa, September 7, 1601, in *Auto del gobernador de Nuevo Mexico*.

542. Fray Francisco de Velasco and Fray Pedro de Vergara. "True Account of the Expedition of Oñate Toward the East," in Bolton, *Spanish Exploration*, 251.

543. Fray Luís de Maironos, who had been sent to Mexico with reports. *Carta de Don Luís de Velasco á S. M.*, March 22, 1601.

544. "Carta de Relación," October 1, 1601, in Torquemada, *Monarchía Indiana*, I, 374.

545. Statement of Peñalosa, September 7, 1601, in *Auto del gobernador de Nuevo Mexico*.

to leave.⁵⁴⁶ He thereupon ordered that the opinions of the latter as well as of the military officials, "who were ready to follow the religious," should be taken and recorded.

Testimony of the Friars. The missionaries were first called to the witness stand by Peñalosa to explain their reasons for giving up the work of converting the heathen.⁵⁴⁷ The vice-commissary, Father San Miguel, took oath in due form to tell the truth regarding the province and what ought to be done to escape its misery. He charged, and seemingly with truth, that instead of finding a spirit of kindness in the colony toward the natives they were treated with utter disregard. The result was that the Word of God was blasphemed and not blessed. He had begun to learn four of the native languages and had worked hard to secure converts.⁵⁴⁸ In these efforts he had experienced the greatest difficulty because the soldiers "leave them nothing in their houses, no wheat, nothing to eat, nothing that is alive."

It was the old trouble, the military offending the natives, making it extremely difficult for the missionaries to do anything. Father San Miguel testified that he had seen many pueblos entirely deserted because of fear of the soldiers, and the cruelty practised by them when coming to rob the natives of their food. Remonstrances against such injustice had availed nothing because "the land is so poor and so miserable that the governor has not been able to remedy" the situation. He confessed that Indian chiefs had been tortured and many killed in order to make them tell where their maize was concealed. Thousands

546. "It has come to my notice that many captains, officers and soldiers of this town, in agreement with the missionaries . . . who are in these provinces, have frequently said that it was proper for the service of God our Lord and his majesty that this entire capital should get ready and depart. . . ." *Ibid.*

547. Peñalosa was present in the church while this testimony was taken. He conducted the entire proceeding and signed the declaration made by each witness. A month later when the soldiers who remained loyal wished to take testimony to present before the viceroy, Peñalosa permitted it, but otherwise remained aloof.

548. Testimony of Father San Miguel, September 7, 1601, in *Auto del gobernador de Nuevo Mexico*. Father San Miguel's province included Pecos, the salines, and the Jumano pueblos. "Obediencia y vasallaje á su Magestad por los indios del

of Indians had already died from starvation. They had been reduced to such extremity that he had seen them eating branches of trees, earth, charcoal and ashes. That was rather gritty food, indeed. "If we wait much longer the natives, and all who are in the province, will die of starvation, cold and nakedness."⁵⁴⁹

Fray Francisco de Zamora gave equally discrediting testimony. He also insisted that attempts to Christianize the Indians had been made, but that the poor results obtained, due to the terrible injuries inflicted on the natives by the soldiers in order to secure food, had rendered their labors futile. The Christian religion had been degraded and converts were few.⁵⁵⁰

Father Izquierdo recounted at length some of the calamities which had befallen the miserable natives. In addition he testified that some of the settlers had spent so much money in the conquest of New Mexico that it would have been enough to undertake the subjugation of another province. In return for these sacrifices there was no compensation. On the contrary they had been compelled to steal the food and blankets which the natives required for their own needs. The only alternative to this procedure was starvation and death, or the desertion of the province for better lands.⁵⁵¹ Such were the reasons for giving up the fight for souls in New Mexico.

The Complaints of Four Captains. Following the missionaries four prominent captains related to Peñalosa their enormous sacrifices. The treasurer Alonso Sánchez testified that he had sold his extensive possessions near Nombre de Dios at a sacrifice in order to join Oñate's expedition with his entire household. Two of his daughters were married to officers in the army; three who were not married, and two sons also accompanied the expedition. In

pueblo de San Juan Baptista," in *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, XVI, 113-114.

549. Testimony of Father San Miguel, in *Auto del gobernador de Nuevo Mexico*.

550. Testimony of Father Zamora, in *ibid.*

551. Testimony of Father Izquierdo, in *ibid.*

New Mexico he had served on most of the trips of exploration which had been made and had found that there was no chance for profit in the land. It was a sterile country without gold or silver.⁵⁵²

The purveyor-general, Diego de Zubia, an inhabitant of Durango, had soon decided to join Oñate's expedition, when the news of its organization reached him. He sold his large estates, normally worth 12,000 ducats, married Doña Juana de Trejo, a daughter of Captain Sánchez, and went to New Mexico on his honeymoon.⁵⁵³

Captains Bernabé de las Casas and Gregorio César, both of Mexico, told of joining the army and spending large sums of money in the enterprise. All had finally been reduced to the same level in a state of abject poverty, and were now petitioning the king to have mercy upon them by permitting their return to New Spain.⁵⁵⁴

Peñalosa Sanctions Desertion. Peñalosa was in a rather uncomfortable position as lieutenant-governor, and in his communications to the viceroy tried to make a safe explanation of his own conduct in the crisis. He could not blame Oñate, who was far away in the king's service in search of new provinces to conquer. He could not hold the missionaries responsible for what had happened, nor was it of any use to blame the soldiers. They took sides with the missionaries, or alleged that the things condemned were necessary in order to exist in such a fruitless and sterile region.⁵⁵⁵

The capital was thus torn with dissension, and though it was Peñalosa's duty to preserve order he did nothing whatever to hinder the progress of the rebellion. We must conclude, therefore, that he was fully in accord with what was going on. Nevertheless, he would be compelled to re-

552. Testimony of Captain Alonso Sánchez, in *ibid.*

553. Testimony of Diego de Zubia, in *ibid.* Zubia testified that he was captain and *alcalde mayor* of the "province of Santa Bárbara" when Oñate began recruiting in that locality.

554. Testimony of Captains Las Casas and César, in *ibid.*

555. *Copia de una carta de Francisco de Sosa Peñalosa escrita al Conde de Monterey*, San Gabriel, October 1, 1601. A. G. I., 58-3-15.

main, together with the father-commissary, and such as refused to desert to Santa Bárbara till relief or authority to depart should come from Mexico. Peñalosa appealed to the viceroy that unless such aid was received within five months they too would be forced to desert. Captain Luís de Velasco, who had vigorously urged the abandonment of the province, was delegated to present the information in Mexico.⁵⁵⁶

A Part of the Colony Remains Loyal. The few faithful soldiers who remained in San Gabriel, indignant at the course events had taken, were entirely helpless to prevent the deserters from carrying out their plans. They did, however, determine to present their side of the case to the viceroy. In order to do this effectively it was necessary to send a representative to Mexico, and for this purpose they chose Captain Gerónimo Márquez. Peñalosa readily granted him permission to go.⁵⁵⁷

In order to have accurate information to present in Mexico, Márquez prepared an interrogatory containing twenty articles on which testimony was taken.⁵⁵⁸ His purpose was to counteract the information being sent to Mexico by the missionaries and others. It was thus necessary to give a favorable report of the province, and this was done in the most glowing terms. At the same time the loyal soldiers deplored the cowardice of the deserters and sought to brand them as traitors.

Besides Peñalosa and the father-commissary there appear to have been about twenty-five soldiers in the group which remained in San Gabriel.⁵⁵⁹ Ten of these appeared

556. Peñalosa characterized Velasco as a worthy and reliable man on whom the viceroy could depend. *Ibid.* Velasco was accompanied by Jusepe Brondate, Marcelo de Espinosa, Juan de Ortega, and the licentiate Gines de Herrera Orta. They departed March 23, 1601. See their testimony, in *Copia de una información que hizo Don Francisco de Valverde*.

557. Petition of the soldiers and reply of Peñalosa, October 2, 1601, in *Información y papeles*.

558. "Interrogatorio" of Captain Gerónimo Márquez, in *ibid.*

559. Petition of the soldiers, in *ibid.* They were: Alonso Gómez Montesinos, Bartolomé Romero, Cristóbal Vaca, Martín Gómez, Gonzalo Hernández, Hernán Martín, Acencio de Arechuelta, Alonso Varela, Alonso de Chaves, Pedro de Argüelo,

as witnesses before Captain Márquez. A large portion of their testimony dealt with the activities of the friars. On that subject Márquez asked each witness the following question: "Do you know if the holy Gospel has been preached to the natives of this land, and how it was received by those who understood a little."⁵⁶⁰

The First Efforts of the Missionaries. In view of the fact that the testimony of all the witnesses showed passive or outspoken hostility to the friars, among others, their actions can quite readily be understood. All stated that the Gospel had been favorably received wherever any preaching had been done, but that very little had been attempted. Captain Cristóbal Vaca insisted that the friars had never gone over two leagues beyond the capital to preach, and that they were unwilling to do so. This selfish spirit was emphasized by nearly all the witnesses.⁵⁶¹

There was one outstanding exception. Father Alonso de la Oliva at Santo Domingo had made a real attempt to bring salvation to the Indians. Eight soldiers spoke of his work. He had made so much progress that at the sound of a bell the natives would gather for religious instruction. At Jemez Father Lugo and a lay brother, a Mexican Indian, had built a church where the neophytes also assembled at the same signal. Captain Romero, who had been there, stated that they listened to the preaching of the lay brother and were also learning the prayers.⁵⁶²

Among the Picuries some success had been achieved by another lay brother, and at San Ildefonso, where it seems Father San Miguel was laboring,⁵⁶³ a church had been erected. Moreover, it was testified that one of the soldiers,

Juan Luxán, Baltasar de Monzon, Diego Diaz, Juan de Medina, Alvaro García, Alonso Barba, Rodrigo Correa, Juan Pérez, Juan de Salas, Juan López Deguin, Pedro Locero, Juan Fernández, Simón Pérez de Bustillo.

560. Article two, in "Interrogatorio" of Captain Márquez, in *Información y papeles*.

561. Testimony of Captain Vaca and others on article two, in *ibid*.

562. Testimony on article two, in *ibid*.

563. Testimony of Romero, Montesinos, and Hernán Martín on article two, in *ibid*. Father San Miguel never went to his own field, according to Captain Brondate. See his testimony, in *Copia de una información que hizo Don Francisco de Valverde*.

Hernán Martín, had learned the language of the Queres and had explained matters of doctrine to them. "If the padres had fulfilled their duty the Indians would all have been Christians by this time," exclaimed Captain Montesinos.

Some had accepted the forms of Christianity, notably the natives of San Juan. A few days before the talk of leaving the province broke out, two baptismal ceremonies had been held. At the first of these the children of the women led into slavery at Ácoma, and those near the capital who served the Spaniards, were baptized, and the next set likewise consisted largely of women slaves. All the witnesses, some of whom had acted as sponsors,⁵⁶⁴ so stated, and added that the neophytes fled when they learned of the proposed abandonment of the land. They feared to be taken away from native surroundings. If no effort should be made to reassemble these converts, said the soldiers, in order to continue their instruction in the faith they must inevitably relapse into heathenism very soon. All of these calamities, they maintained, had been caused by the determination of a few to forsake the land.⁵⁶⁵

In the bitterness of the moment the loyal soldiers placed much of the responsibility for this state of affairs on the friars. During the organization of the expedition and after reaching New Mexico they had always told the colonists of the great service the latter were doing for God and king by staying in the land and assisting in its conversion. The missionaries had compared them to Christ's Apostles and urged their cooperation in Christianizing the natives. That spirit had suddenly changed, was the charge, and the padres had used their great influence in the cause of desertion.⁵⁶⁶

The Ringleaders. In the report which Márquez carried

564. Hernán Martín, Martín Gómez, and Alonso Gómez Montesinos.

565. Testimony on article twenty, in *Información y papeles*.

566. Article twelve and testimony, in *ibid.* As late as August 2, 1601, Monterey had apparently received no idea of dissatisfaction among the missionaries. Up till that time the latter had simply reported that there were many docile Indians who were desirous of becoming Christians. *Monterey á S. M.*, August 2, 1601, A. G. I.,

to the viceroy an effort was made to identify those who were responsible for fomenting dissension. Four captains, Don Luís de Velasco, Bernabé de las Casas, Alonso de Quesada, and Gregorio César, were unanimously acclaimed as being among the ringleaders. Several others had been working with them, however. Nine of the witnesses accused Antonio Conde, eight included Zubia, and six named Alonso Sánchez and Pedro Alonso among the guilty. The friars were specifically mentioned by only three in this connection.⁵⁶⁷ On other questions, however, five told of hearing the missionaries preaching desertion, while four others stated that they were present and witnessed all that took place while the rebellion was developing. The tenth witness, Juan Sánchez, reported that both parties, priests and soldiers, cast the blame on the other party.⁵⁶⁸ It is clear that both the religious and military authorities were responsible for the flight of the colony.

Making Desertion Compulsory. Captain Márquez further charged that the missionaries, in their sermons and discussions, had exhorted the soldiers to abandon the province. Gerónimo Hernández told how Fray Lope de Izquierdo had tried to bring him over to their purpose by stating that all the missionaries wanted to go to Mexico. Later he heard him preach the same message from the pulpit. Fray San Miguel likewise made futile efforts to change his mind.⁵⁶⁹

The captains were evidently more unscrupulous than the missionaries. They went about the colony practically compelling everyone to sign the "roll of the deserters." It was their practise to take someone aside, inform him that all had signed with the exception of himself, and that not a soul would remain behind. Such was the experience of Alonso de la Vega who was taken to Fray Lope's cell by Captain Don Luís de Velasco. He was there told to sign

567. Testimony on article eleven, in *Información y papeles*.

568. Testimony on article nine, in *ibid.*

569. Testimony of Gerónimo Hernández, in *ibid.*

as he was the only one who had not done so. Gerónimo Hernández and Hernán Martín testified that they were explicitly informed that not a soul would remain, not even the lieutenant-governor nor the father-commissary.⁵⁷⁰ The royal standard would no longer wave over the capital at San Gabriel.

By such means did the party of desertion formulate their plans to give up New Mexico. However, their carefully matured efforts broke down in part. When it was seen that some were reluctant to go and that neither Peñalosa nor Fray Juan de Escalona were leaving, as had been vouchsafed, a few determined to stay. Those who had been hoodwinked into signing the deserter's roll now cast their lot with New Mexico and Oñate.

The Flight. After most of the colonists had been persuaded to leave, the group forsook New Mexico in September or October, 1601. Santa Bárbara was their destination and thither they hurried.⁵⁷¹

Oñate Returns from Quivira. Meanwhile, Oñate returned from Quivira late in the following November, not a whit richer than when he set out. His soldiers, many of whom bore the marks of their clash with the Kansas Indians were a weary band of knight-errants indeed. In San Gabriel further disappointment was in store for Oñate, and he must have listened to the news of the colony's departure with bitter chagrin. Just as new hopes had appeared on the horizon, to take advantage of which more men were needed, a part of his force had fled. His own men and horses were sadly in need of rest and there were neither to take their places. Nevertheless, plans were soon set in motion for dealing with the situation.

The Deserters are Condemned. Judicial proceedings were instituted against the deserters and they were sentenced "as the treason against his majesty demanded," ac-

570. See their testimony on article ten, in *ibid.*

571. See letters of Fathers Escalona and San Miguel given in Torquemada's *Monarchia Indiana*, I, 676-678.

cording to Zaldívar.⁵⁷² Father San Miguel asserts that they were to be beheaded.⁵⁷³ After the sentence had been pronounced the former was ordered to overtake the rebels and bring them back. But he was too late. They had already reached Santa Bárbara. There they had been taken care of by Captain Gordejuela at the viceroy's order,⁵⁷⁴ and Zaldívar, though complaining of ill health, set out for Mexico to make a personal report to the viceroy.⁵⁷⁵ Should he fail to secure satisfaction from the latter he planned a trip to Spain to appeal directly to the king.⁵⁷⁶

Serious Charges Against Oñate. From Santa Bárbara the condemned colonists made strenuous efforts to save themselves. Reports were made painting Oñate in the blackest colors. Father San Miguel informed his superior that everyone in the colony was compelled to bow to Oñate's slightest wish, and that even the friars were forced to worship him. He charged that the land was inhospitable and that it was impossible to live there under the circumstances. The governor, in order not to lose

his reputation, makes use of a thousand falsehoods, . . . sends thousands of souls to hell, and does things not fit to be mentioned by Christians. . . . In all the expeditions he has butchered many Indians, human blood has been shed, and he has committed thefts, sackings, and other atrocities. I pray that God may grant him the grace to do penance for all his deeds.⁵⁷⁷

The Viceroy Consults the Theologians. Monterey did not take upon himself full responsibility for settling this

572. Vicente de Zaldívar to Monterey, Sombrerete. February 28, 1602. A. G. I., 58-3-15.

573. Letter of Father San Miguel, in Torquemada, *Monarchía Indiana*, I, 677.

574. Some had preceded the others and informed the viceroy of their action, and he then ordered them detained till the matter could be investigated. *Copia de un capítulo de carta del virrey de Nueva España* . . . á S. M., March 8, 1602, A. G. I., 58-3-15.

575. Zaldívar to Monterey, February 28, 1602.

576. Zaldívar to Cristóbal de Oñate, Luis Nuñez Pérez and Cristóbal de Salazar, February 28, 1602, A. G. I., 58-3-15.

577. Letter of Father San Miguel, in Torquemada, *Monarchía Indiana*, I, 676-677. Part of this passage is quoted by Bolton in his *Spanish Borderlands*, 175.

delicate matter. On the contrary he consulted various theologians and jurists. He wanted to know, in particular, whether the fleeing colonists had committed the crime of desertion, and whether some of them, at least, ought not to be punished. The wisemen whom he consulted held that those in question were not full-fledged soldiers but settlers who could not be called military deserters. Moreover, as it was the first offense, they considered it best to spare them.⁵⁷⁸

Nor did the theologians feel that the escaped colonists could or should be compelled to go back to New Mexico, even if they were given supplies and provisions. They had exercised an inalienable right and made certain accusations which ought to be investigated by some higher tribunal.

Nevertheless, they felt that the land should not be given up. The natives who had already been Christianized ought to be protected. A few soldiers might be sent for this purpose, "not as an army, nor with the clang of arms," but only enough to protect the friars. In the future there should be no restriction on communication with Mexico. There ought to be free recourse to both the viceroy and audiencia in Mexico, as well as to the king and Council of the Indies in Spain.⁵⁷⁹

These opinions of the theologians supported the viceroy's first move to protect the settlers from Oñate's wrath. Consequently the adelantado never got back his colonists. The complaints which they had made cast a serious shadow on his reputation. He and his friends made efforts to disprove the charges and to regain royal favor, but only with indifferent success. The desertion of the colony and the pent-up opposition which it unloosened were important factors in revealing the true nature of Oñate's achievement in New Mexico. The illusions of fabled wealth which had circulated generally up to this time were dispelled and the way prepared for the permanent growth of New Mexico as a missionary field.

578. *Copia de los puntos que se consultaron á teólogos y juristas . . . y también de la respuesta de los dichos geólogos*, January 6 and 31, 1602, A. G. I., 58-3-15.

579. *Ibid.*

Chapter X.

Onate's Difficulties and the Expedition to California

Prosperity of the Colony. In the account of the flight of Oñate's colonists it was necessary to deal with much of the sordid side of life in New Mexico. But our story is not all of that nature. At times we find pleasant reports of the fertility and excellence of the land. Some interesting facts of that nature were sent to Mexico in 1601. It was then pointed out that never before had there been such ample provisions on hand in the colony. The harvest that year would bring the Spaniards fifteen hundred fanegas⁵⁸⁰ of wheat, it was predicted. This was only five hundred less than the annual requirements. The Indians also were harvesting and would have enough to tide them over. There were three thousand head of stock in the province, and the gardens were full of fruits and vegetables. In the three years since the Spanish occupation greater amounts of grain and vegetables had been grown each year. True, the harvest was not yet completed, but all felt assured of a heavy yield.

During the first year in New Mexico Oñate's settlers seeded only seven *fanegas* of wheat. In the second about fifty *fanegas* had been cultivated, with a return of nearly one thousand. In 1601 almost one hundred *fanegas* had been planted, and the indications pointed to a good harvest. The situation was therefore better than during the first year when they had to rely entirely on the Indians for maize.⁵⁸¹

Trouble with the Jumanos. Of a different nature was

580. A *fanega* contains one and six-tenths bushels.

581. Testimony on articles thirteen and fourteen, in *Información y papeles*. This testimony is given by those who refused to desert New Mexico. It is therefore the rosier side of the picture. But even so they admitted that some corn must still be furnished by the Indians.

a conflict with the Jumanos. This arose when five soldiers fled from the capital, hoping to escape to New Spain. On the way the Jumanos attacked them, killing two of the fugitives and over twenty of their horses. Castañeda and Santillan were the victims.⁵⁸² The three survivors, whose names are not given, hurried back to San Gabriel to inform the governor of what had taken place.

Within a short time of their return it was learned that the Jumanos were planning to attack the Spanish capital, hoping to wipe out the intruding settlement. When this became known all the soldiers petitioned Oñate to suspend his proposed journey to the east till the Jumanos could be punished and security reestablished in the province. This request was granted and Zaldívar was accordingly sent to Abó, here called a Jumano pueblo, in order to punish those guilty of killing the Spaniards.⁵⁸³

The Indians quickly learned that Zaldívar was on his way. Calling their friends they assembled in the pueblo of Agualaco,⁵⁸⁴ to await developments. Zaldívar approached the place without suspecting that it was filled with enemies, due to the fact that it had sent friendly representatives to him. As he was nearing the pueblo about eight hundred natives suddenly sallied forth and compelled his force to face a dangerous attack.⁵⁸⁵ Such an insult must be punished, otherwise the natives would become insolent and haughty and make the land unsafe.

Plans for the battle were carefully laid and the soldiers

582. Article sixteen and testimony, in *ibid.* In one place the name Salvatierra is substituted for Castañeda, but there is no record of a man by that name in the colony. Santillan reached San Gabriel in December, 1600, with the reinforcements. Therefore the incident occurred after that time — and before June 23, 1601, when Oñate went to Quivira.

583. Articles sixteen and seventeen, in *ibid.* "Para que fuse á los jumanas al pueblo de abo á castigar á los delinquentes . . ." Hodge calls Abó a Tompiros division of the Piros. *Handbook*, I, 6.

584. Article seventeen and testimony, in *Información y papeles*. Agualaco is doubtless identical with the Acolocú mentioned when the pueblos rendered obedience. It was said to be in a province called Cheálo. See "Obediencia y vasallaje á su Magestad por los indios del pueblo de Acolocú," in *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, XVI, 117-118. Hodge places that province in the vicinity of the salines. *Handbook*, I, 239.

585. Article seventeen, in *Información y papeles*.

sought divine aid before going into battle. Then Zaldívar offered peace to the Indians, promising them many things if this offer would be accepted, but nothing came of it. The Indians hurled rocks and arrows, indicating their refusal of the terms. The battle began at once. It lasted six days and nights before the natives acknowledged defeat.⁵⁸⁶ Nine hundred had been killed, and their pueblo burned. We are told that Zaldívar pardoned all the men and women engaged in the battle save those most guilty. These seem to have numbered two hundred, nevertheless.⁵⁸⁷ One captive was given to each soldier, but as soon as they had been taken to San Gabriel many fled. Within a brief period all save seven or eight had escaped.⁵⁸⁸

Writing in March, 1601, Captain Velasco reported that this struggle with the Jumanos was very recent,⁵⁸⁹ and occurred because they refused to furnish blankets and provisions. This fray is not to be confused with Oñate's tussle with the Jumanos in the summer of 1599, when Zaldívar was on his way to the South Sea. The battle described above took place just before Oñate went to Quivira.

Zaldívar in Mexico. Following these events and the flight of the colony Vicente de Zaldívar was sent to Mexico with requests for aid and support in order to maintain and extend what had already been won in New Mexico.⁵⁹⁰ He asked for a reinforcement of three hundred soldiers to be provided at the king's expense, and offered to add one hundred to this number at Oñate's cost. More missionaries must also be provided. But Monterey and the audiencia threw cold water on these plans within a month. It was their opinion that the discovery should not be con-

586. Article eighteen and testimony, in *ibid.* Another account of the battle says that it lasted five days and nights, and that the Indians did not give up till their water supply was cut off. In the final struggle to capture that point about forty Spaniards were wounded. Zaldívar was one of them, having suffered two wounds and a broken arm. Petition of Vicente de Zaldívar, 1603, A. G. I., 103-3-23.

587. *Carta de don Luis de Velasco á S. M.*, March 22, 1601.

588. Article eighteen and testimony, in *Información y papeles.*

589. See his letter, *op. cit.*

590. He arrived for Easter, before April 10, 1602.

tinued at such expense, but that the region already pacified in New Mexico should be maintained, even at some cost. It presented a fine field for missionary endeavor, and would serve as a base "from which to receive news of the settlements that are said to be in the north in that great expanse of country, which may truly be said to constitute a large fraction of the earth's surface."⁵⁹¹

Oñate Appeals to the King. Meanwhile it should be noted that Oñate had long maintained an agent in Spain, seeking favors from the king. This was his brother Don Alonso, who was procurator-general of the miners of New Spain.⁵⁹² He was in Seville in March, 1600, long before the desertion of Oñate's colony or before the new province began to look like a profitless venture. He brought papers and reports from New Mexico, and strongly urged the king to favor his brother Don Juan.⁵⁹³ He was seeking confirmation of Oñate's contract as made with Velasco and the restoration of the limitations made by the Count of Monterey. He insisted that his brother had fully met his obligations as shown by the Ulloa inspection, and that the subsequent inspection by Salazar was not fairly conducted. "Only by the mercy of God could Don Juan and his army bear such treatment. For this reason alone, he deserves that your highness do him the favor of confirming said capitulations." Don Alonso also requested that the title of adelantado be given his brother. He had earned it, and it had been promised before the conquest was undertaken.⁵⁹⁴ Moreover he asked that missionaries of all orders be permitted to enter New Mexico. He insisted that no trouble would arise if the Franciscans were limited to those places then in their possession.⁵⁹⁵

591. "Memorial sobre el descubrimiento," in *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, XVI, 200-201.

592. *Memorial que Don Alonso de Oñate . . . envia á S. M.*, [October 8, 1600] A. G. I., 1-1-3/22.

593. *Carta á S. M. de Don Alonso de Oñate*, Seville, March 2, 1600, A. G. I., 1-1-3/22.

594. Don Alonso to the president of the Council of the Indies, in *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, XVI, 320-321.

595. Don Alonso de Oñate to the king, May 24, 1600, in *ibid.*, XVI, 316-319.

The Opinion of the Council, June, 1600. These matters were referred to the Council of the Indies and duly considered by it. Monterey's limitations were allowed to stand with one exception. The encomiendas granted in New Mexico, which Monterey had ordered confirmed within three years, were extended. It was not customary to limit them and the members of the Council voted to free Oñate from the restriction.⁵⁹⁶

The Council further agreed that the honor of becoming hidalgo should be extended to the descendants of those who died before the required five year period of service was up. It conceded that the title of adelantado should be given, in justice, to Oñate. Of the numerous additional privileges requested in the contract made with Viceroy Velasco, which the Council also passed on, some were partially granted. The royal fifth on the precious metals was reduced to a tenth for twenty years. Exemption from the *alcabala* was allowed for twenty years. But the king's decree suspended all these matters and referred them to the Count of Monterey for his opinion.⁵⁹⁷

Don Alonso fairly bombarded the king and the Council of the Indies with letters and petitions. He charged that Monterey had continually sought to destroy the expedition. It was for that reason that Oñate's contract had been limited, that Salazar had been sent to hold a second inspection, that Father Martínez who went to Mexico for reinforcements, was detained till he gave up in disgust, and that the whole project had been unnecessarily delayed all along. He pointed out anew that everything limited by the Count was granted in the royal ordinances, and that there was accordingly no reason for withholding these concessions.⁵⁹⁸

Opinion of the Council, October, 1601. Nearly a year elapsed before the king ordered the Council to reconsider

596. *El Consejo de Indias á S. M.*, June 9, 1600, A. G. I., 1-1-3/22.

597. Royal decree in response to *ibid.*

598. Two memorials of Don Alonso de Oñate [October 8, 1600], A. G. I., 1-1-3/22.

this question, which was continually being urged by Oñate's friends. Accordingly it once more reviewed the modifications made by the Count and recommended some changes. The Council would now permit Oñate to be immediately subject to the Council of the Indies, except that appeal in governmental and judicial affairs to the audiencia of New Galicia must be permitted. For two years from the beginning of the conquest he might appoint royal officials in New Mexico and name their salary; he might recruit troops with the viceroy's sanction; bring two ships to his province yearly, again with the viceroy's approval; levy the tribute, without consulting the prelates, provided it did not exceed ten reales per year for each of those who had to pay it; and exercise absolute freedom in giving encomiendas. The king, however, was unwilling to concede the last point, and ordered that confirmation must be sought within three years.⁵⁹⁹

Don Alonso was dissatisfied with the king's action and immediately presented new remonstrances. He ridiculed the two year concession for appointing officials in New Mexico, as the conquest had begun four years before that was ordered. This was accordingly changed so that Oñate could name the officials for once only. In regard to the right of giving encomiendas Don Alonso had the Council on his side. It agreed that Oñate or his friends should not be obliged to ask confirmation of their encomiendas, "for it has not been done, nor is it done by any of the presidents or governors who have power to grant encomiendas."⁶⁰⁰ Nevertheless the king modified the Council's decision and required the encomenderos to ask for confirmation within six years.⁶⁰¹

The partial concessions which filtered through the king's fingers one by one evidently served to keep Don Alonso fighting for more. At any rate he made further

599. *El Consejo á S. M.*, and royal decree, October 17, 1601. A. G. I., 1-1-3/22.

600. *Junta particular á S. M.*, November 24, 1601, A. G. I., 1-1-3/22.

601. Royal decree in response to *ibid.*

requests that the viceroy be instructed to send soldiers to Oñate, and that they be given the privileges of first settlers. Moreover it was again asked that the Carmelites be allowed to enter New Mexico. When these questions were considered by the Council it strongly recommended that Oñate be given the necessary reinforcements, and that the other requests be also granted.⁶⁰² Numerous points still in doubt had just been referred to Monterey for his opinion.⁶⁰³

Oñate's Loss of Prestige. On this occasion the decision of the Council was upheld by the king and he ordered that it be carried out. This was on June 22, 1602.⁶⁰⁴ But about the same time news of various disorders and crimes said to have been committed by Oñate and others in New Mexico reached Spain and was considered by the Council on July 7, 1602. Presumably these reports dealt with the severe punishments Oñate had inflicted, and other irregularities.⁶⁰⁵ The upshot of it all was that the king ordered Monterey to make a secret investigation. If Oñate was so guilty that it would be improper to leave him in New Mexico he was to be punished, but the conversion of the natives was not to be stopped for that reason.⁶⁰⁶ In view of such unfavorable reports the king countermanded the order of June 22, and decreed that the entire business then sanctioned be delayed.⁶⁰⁷ It is just possible that information of the desertion of the colony had been received by that time and influenced his decision.

The Title of Adelantado. Before these disturbing reports were received in Spain Don Alonso had succeeded in wringing a few concessions from the crown. Early in 1602, before the scandal about Oñate was known in Spain,

602. *Junta particular*, June 22, 1602, A. G. I., 1-1-3/22.

603. Royal cédula, June 7, 1602, A. G. I., 139-1-2.

604. Royal decree in response to *junta* of June 22, 1602, A. G. I., 1-1-3/22.

605. See chapter VIII of this study.

606. *El Consejo de Indias á S. M.*, April 22, 1603, 1-1-3/22.

607. Royal decree, August 12, 1602, A. G. I., 1-1-3/22. The viceroy had already been informed of the above orders, for he shortly reported to the king that he had refused to permit the entry of the Carmelites into New Mexico. He gave as his reason the danger of conflict with the Franciscans. *Carta á su Magestad del virrey de Nueva España*, December 12, 1602, A. G. I., 58-3-15.

he had the satisfaction of sending a bit of "glory" to his brother in New Mexico. It was the title of adelantado which the king then conferred. The honor was to last through Oñate's lifetime and that of his son or heir.⁶⁰⁸

Moreover his independence of the viceroy and audiencia of Mexico was formally decreed, with appeal to the audiencia of New Galicia.⁶⁰⁹ The right to levy tribute without consulting the religious was likewise promulgated, provided it did not exceed ten reales a year for each tributary,⁶¹⁰ and the ennoblement of the children of those conquerors who died before the title of hidalgo had been legally won was officially sanctioned.⁶¹¹

Monterey Resents the King's Action. Viceroy Monterey first heard of these concessions through Oñate's friends in Mexico in the fall of 1602. He was greatly displeased, particularly that Oñate had been freed from his control. But the notification was not official, and lacking such notice he determined to act as formerly in regard to New Mexico. The audiencia concurred in this decision, and Monterey went on with his plans of sending three or four friars to the north. New Mexico was still in a very precarious situation and in danger of being deserted by the few who had remained there.⁶¹² The missionaries were shortly sent, probably reaching San Gabriel in May, 1603. Besides these there were already two in the province, we are informed.⁶¹³

Zaldívar's Pilgrimage to Spain. When Zaldívar failed to secure the desired assistance from the royal officials in Mexico he departed for Europe, evidently in 1602, armed with reports on New Mexico and with the opinions of the audiencia and Monterey. The latter urged the king that

608. Royal cédula, February 7, 1602, in Hackett, *Hist. Docs.*, 397-399.

609. Royal cédula, July 8, in *ibid.*, 405.

610. Royal cédula, July 4, 1602, in *ibid.*, 403.

611. Royal cédula, July 8, 1602, A. G. I., 139-1-2.

612. *Carta á su Magestad del virrey de Nueva España*, December 12, 1602.

613. *Monterey á S. M.*, May 28, 1603, A. G. I., 58-3-14. Oñate had made urgent requests that the Jesuits be allowed to enter New Mexico, but Monterey refused to permit it.

the *maestre de campo* be given attention at once, for it was expedient that a decision one way or the other be reached without delay.⁶¹⁴

Zaldívar soon informed the crown of Oñate's dire distress. He insisted, in particular, that there were too few soldiers to continue the discovery. Four hundred additional soldiers would not be too many to reap the fruits of what had already been discovered, and the king was asked to provide three hundred of these. The rest would be furnished by Oñate, even though his expenses for the past six years had been enormous. But in spite of Zaldívar's glowing accounts of New Mexico and the country beyond, the Council was not convinced that such a heavy drain on the royal treasury was warranted. The reports of scandals said to have been committed by Oñate left a bad impression. It was probably for that reason that the Council refused to consider the matter and recommended that the entire question of New Mexican affairs be left to the viceroy's discretion.⁶¹⁵ The responsibility would then devolve on the Marquis of Montesclaros, newly appointed viceroy of New Spain.⁶¹⁶

Though unsuccessful in getting the crown to send more men to New Mexico, Zaldívar's voyage was not entirely in vain. In a *junta de guerra* of May 23, 1603, the Council recommended a loan of thirty or forty thousand ducats to Oñate, that the conversion of the natives might not be hindered.⁶¹⁷ It also approved his plan to recruit some musketeers and shipwrights in Seville and San Lucar, as there were none of these in the Indies. He was only allowed forty men, though his request was for seventy. They were to sail with the fleet, the expense of their passage and

614. *Carta á su Magestad del virrey de Nuevo España*, December 12, 1602. Vicente de Zaldívar was *sargento mayor* of the expedition to New Mexico, but was also given the title of *maestre de campo* after the death of his brother Juan at Ácoma in December, 1598, and he was usually referred to by that title while in Spain.

615. *El Consejo de Indias á S. M.*, April 22, 1603, A. G. I., 1-1-3/22.

616. Montesclaros reached Mexico in September, 1603. Bancroft, *Mexico*, III, 5.

617. *La Junta de Guerra de Indias á S. M.*, May 23, 1603. This was approved by the king, but I have no record that it was carried out.

freight being paid by the crown. Only fifteen hundred ducats, however, could be expended for this purpose.⁶¹⁸

The Council also approved Zaldívar's request for two experienced pilots to be hired at Oñate's cost. They were to be used in making voyages of discovery on the North or South Seas. In addition he was allowed to bring a quantity of military equipment with the fleet, but it was evidently purchased at his own cost.⁶¹⁹

Zaldívar did not remain long in Spain. Little had been gained and he departed with the fleet in 1603, leaving Don Alonso to represent Oñate's interests there. Nor had he been able to enlist the forty musketeers, shipwrights, and two pilots before the fleet sailed. Don Alonso took over the task and requested that he might assume the privileges granted to Zaldívar.⁶²⁰ The king permitted the favor and allowed the small group to sail in December or January in a tender of eighty tons.⁶²¹ Moreover it was decreed that the boat might bring a small amount of merchandise in order to make the trip less expensive.⁶²²

Oñate's Residencia is Postponed. When Monterey received the orders from the king to investigate the charges of misconduct preferred against Oñate he should normally have ordered the latter's *residencia*.⁶²³ But he determined not to do so, with the approval of the audiencia, because of the danger of discrediting the new region so thoroughly that it would be given up in disgust. He felt that the *residencia* could be held with fewer disadvantages some time later.⁶²⁴ The stand taken on the subject was approved by

618. *El Consejo de Indias á S. M.*, and royal decree, May 17, 1603, A. G. I., 1-1-3/22; cf. royal cédula of June 23, 1603, in Hackett, *Hist. Docs.*, 407.

619. Authorized in two cédulas of June 12 and June 23, 1602, A. G. I., 139-1-2. The equipment consisted of sixty harquebuses, thirty muskets, one hundred coats of mail, one hundred cuishes, fifty helmets with beavers, one hundred swords and daggers, fifty buckskin jackets or buckskin for making them.

620. *Don Alonso de Oñate á la Casa*, August 19, 1603, A. G. I., 139-1-2.

621. Royal cédula, September 8, 1603, A. G. I., 139-1-2.

622. *Á la Casa*, January 19, 1604, A. G. I., 139-1-2. There were some married men among those enlisted and they were permitted to bring their wives and children.

623. The *residencia* was an official investigation to determine whether an officer had been true to his trust.

624. *Copia de los advertimientos generales q se le enviaron al virrey Marqués de Montesclaros*, March 28, 1604, A. G. I., 58-3-15.

the crown, and when Montesclaros became viceroy he was instructed to favor the New Mexico enterprise as the charges against Oñate were uncertain.⁶²⁵

Montesclaros Reports on New Mexico. Montesclaros soon found it necessary to make a complete study of the affairs relating to New Mexico. In order to do so with all possible care he conferred with three of the most disinterested judges of the audiencia and with the fiscal in secret sessions. Criminal as well as other charges were considered and a report drawn up and sent to the king.⁶²⁶ Some of the findings of this committee follow.

The conference judged that the land and its inhabitants were, on the whole, poor. It reported that the silver ore sent to Mexico by Oñate contained nothing but copper; that any returns from the province were dependent on the duration of the occupation; that Oñate would not be able to pay even the fourth of the cost of a reinforcement of soldiers; that the charges against him were not bad, but sufficient that he should not continue the conquest; that a judge or alcalde of the audiencia ought to go in person to report on the province and its mining possibilities; that such an official should have power to take Oñate and his guilty relatives prisoners; that in any event a presidio should be established in New Mexico; that if Oñate was not found guilty he should be authorized to continue the conquest; and that in case a *visitador* should be sent either Doctor Morga, alcalde of the audiencia, or the licentiate Morquecho, a judge of the same tribunal, or both, should be named. After the investigation, neither should be permitted to return to the audiencia.⁶²⁷

The Expedition to the Gulf of California. Oñate's province was thus coming to be regarded as a "white elephant" which would have to be supported by the crown. No wealth in gold, silver, or precious stones had been found, nothing but a fairly large number of half naked Indians.

625. *Carta del Marqués de Montesclaros á S. M.*, March 31, 1605, A. G. I., 58-3-15.

626. *Ibid.* The opinion of the *junta* was given in fourteen numbered paragraphs.

627. *Ibid.*

His rule was under the shadow of serious mismanagement. But there was yet one hope of overcoming these misfortunes. Plans of reaching the South Sea had long been contemplated, and Oñate assembled his depleted force in preparation of another hunt for the "Golden Fleece."⁶²⁸

With thirty soldiers, and accompanied by Father Escobar, the commissary of the missionaries, and Fray Juan de San Buenaventura, a lay brother, he left San Gabriel on October 7, 1604,⁶²⁹ following the route opened by Farfán and Zaldívar some years earlier. The party passed through the province of Zuñi, fifty leagues from San Gabriel,⁶³⁰ then went northwest to Moqui, twenty leagues, west to the Little Colorado, ten leagues, and then seventeen leagues to a river called San Antonio. "It ran from north to south between great mountain chains."⁶³¹ On this stretch of territory they had passed through a pine forest eight leagues wide.⁶³² Five leagues beyond the San Antonio river they came to the Sacramento river.⁶³³ This stream flowed in a southeasterly direction, and Escobar stated that it was in that place that Espejo discovered mines.⁶³⁴

From that point the expedition continued westward nearly sixteen leagues, till the river called San Andrés was reached on November 30.⁶³⁵ This was Bill Williams Fork.

628. Cf. Bolton, "Father Escobar's Relation of the Oñate Expedition to California," in *Catholic Historical Review*, V, 22. Hereafter cited as Escobar's Relation.

629. *Ibid.*, 25. "Journey of Oñate to California by Land, (Zárate, 1926)," in Bolton, *Spanish Exploration*, 268-280. Hereafter cited as Zárate's Relation. Both Escobar's and Zárate's accounts have been carefully translated and edited by Professor Bolton.

630. Escobar's Relation, *op. cit.*, V. 25. Zárate says sixty leagues. See his Relation, in Bolton, *Spanish Exploration*, 268.

631. Escobar's Relation, *op. cit.*, V, 26. The San Antonio was perhaps Sycamore Creek.

632. Zárate's Relation, *op. cit.*, 269.

633. The Sacramento must have been the Rio Verde. That identification fits the description. Professor Bolton calls the San Antonio the Rio Verde, but that leaves no stream to compare with the Sacramento, and he attempts none.

634. Escobar's Relation, *op. cit.*, V. 26. Zárate also states it was here that "the Spaniards took out very good ores." If these two statements are correct then Espejo's mining discovery, later visited by Farfán, was not on Bill Williams Fork, but on the Verde.

635. *Ibid.*, V. 27. Professor Bolton notes that the name San Andrés was given to one of the richest mines discovered by the Farfán party. *Spanish Exploration*, 271 note 1. The inference is that there is some relation between the location of

It was followed twenty or twenty-four leagues, the two accounts differ, to the Colorado, "which they sought because of the reports which the Indians had given."⁶³⁶ Regarding this discovery Father Escobar wrote: "It flows . . . to the sea or Gulf of California, bearing on either side high ranges, between which it forms a very wide river bottom, all densely populated by people on both sides of the river, clear to the sea, which seemed to me fifty leagues from there."⁶³⁷

Visiting the Indians along the Colorado. Before starting down the river Oñate sent a party up the stream to visit the Amacavas Indians. They were the Mohave,⁶³⁸ who furnished the Spaniards with "maize, frijoles, and calabashes, which is the ordinary food of all the people of their river." They did not seem to have much maize in spite of the spacious bottoms along the river, and Escobar attributed this to their laziness. On the contrary they obtained much food from mesquite and from the seeds of grass which they gathered in large quantities.⁶³⁹

Proceeding down the river the Spaniards came to the Bahacechas, whose ranchería extended seven or eight leagues along the river bottom.⁶⁴⁰ They have been identified as either a branch of the Mohave or the Huallapais.⁶⁴¹ They told more about a lake, called the lake of Copalla by the Mohaves, which was supposed to be in a populous region.⁶⁴² It was stated that the people who lived on its shores wore bracelets of gold and other golden adornments. When shown some silver buttons they remarked that much of that metal was dug "from a mountain on the other shore of the sea in front of an island five days from where we

Farfán's mines and the river mentioned. It is to be noted, however, that Escobar used that name not because of being where Farfán's party had been, but because the river was reached on Saint Andrew's day.

636. Zárate's Relation, *op. cit.*, 271.

637. Escobar's Relation, *op. cit.*, V, 28.

638. Zárate's Relation, *op. cit.*, 271. They are identified by Bandelier. *Final Report*, I, 106, 110.

639. Escobar's Relation, *op. cit.*, V, 28.

640. *Ibid.*, 31.

641. Bandelier, *Final Report*, I, 110.

642. As Professor Bolton points out this was the name of the region sought by Ibarra in 1563. *Spanish Exploration*, 271 note 6.

were toward which they pointed in the west." Zárate describes how they sailed to the place in one day.⁶⁴³ But regarding this metal Father Escobar was uncertain. He doubted that it was silver because of its reputed abundance.⁶⁴⁴

Continuing down the river the party observed that a large stream, called the Nombre de Jesús, entered the Colorado from the southwest, about twenty leagues above the sea. This was the Gila river. There were numerous rancherías along its banks, whose inhabitants planted maize, frijoles, and calabashes like those already seen. In addition they had *mantas* of cotton similar to those seen in New Mexico. These people were called Osera, or Ozaras, by Escobar and Zárate respectively. They were probably the Maricopas.⁶⁴⁵

Oñate Reaches the South Sea. From the junction of the two rivers the Spaniards continued to the sea about twenty leagues. This was the region of the Yumas and was more thickly settled than any seen up to that time. They were very similar in speech and customs to those already visited. The first settlement, called Alebdoma or Halchedoma, consisted of eight rancherías, the following had nine, and was called Coguana or Cohuana, the Yuma proper.⁶⁴⁶ Each group was judged to contain five thousand souls. The next settlement was called Agalle or Haglli, and then followed the Agalecquamaya or Tlalliquamalla.⁶⁴⁷ These two groups had a total estimated population of another five thousand inhabitants. The last settlement which extended to the sea appeared to be the largest of all. It was the Cocapa, the present Cocopa.⁶⁴⁸

643. Zárate's Relation, *op. cit.*, 274. The quotation is from Escobar.

644. Escobar's Relation, *op. cit.*, V, 30-31.

645. *Ibid.*, V, 32. See Bandelier, *Final Report*, I, 110.

646. Escobar's Relation, *op. cit.*, V, 33. The second form of the tribal name in each case is the one given by Zárate. Zárate's Relation, *op. cit.*, 276. Bandelier, *Final Report*, I, 110. Bandelier is the authority on the identification of these tribes.

647. Escobar's Relation, *op. cit.*, V, 33. This last tribe was the Halliguamaya, identifiable with the Quigiyuma, and the Haglli were evidently a part of the same. Hodge, *Handbook*, I, 520.

648. Escobar's Relation, *op. cit.*, V, 33; Zárate's Relation, *op. cit.*, 276.

Here the party camped in order to have fresh water. It was January 23, 1605. With part of his men and the friars Oñate proceeded to the sea, where he took possession of the surrounding land and water for the king of Spain. From the accounts which the Indians gave of the gulf he formed the idea that California was an island. Then he returned to the camp and the rest of the soldiers also went to the mouth of the river to verify their reports.⁶⁴⁹ Thereupon began the long march back to New Mexico. On the way they were compelled to kill some of their horses for food. The Indians were still friendly and gave them provisions, but "not great in amount nor in proportion to the great multitude of the people nor to our needs."⁶⁵⁰ Finally on April 25, 1605, they reached San Gabriel, "all sound and well, and not a man missing."⁶⁵¹

Escobar's Stories of Region Beyond. On this expedition Oñate's men had heard tales which should have aroused much interest in the region. They had been told of a nation "who had ears so large that they dragged on the ground, and big enough to shelter five or six persons under each one." Near this peculiar tribe was another whose inhabitants had only one foot. There was still another which lived on the banks of the lake of Copalla and who slept entirely under water. Another slept in trees, and the people of one nearby "sustained themselves solely on the odor of their food." Another tribe always slept standing up with a burden on the head. The people who lived on the island were ruled by a woman, a giantess, but she and a sister were the only survivors of their race. On this island all the men were bald and "with them the monstrosities ended." Thus wrote Father Escobar who duly recorded these stories.⁶⁵²

Escobar doubted that there existed so many monstrosi-

649. *Ibid.*, 278. These incidents are not recorded by Escobar.

650. Escobar's Relation, *op. cit.*, V, 34.

651. Zárate's Relation, *op. cit.*, 280.

652. Escobar's Relation, *op. cit.*, V, 37.

ties in so short a distance, for the nations mentioned were all said to live on one river only twenty-five or thirty leagues distant, which had to be crossed to reach the island.

But, even though there might be still greater doubt of all these things, it seemed yet more doubtful to remain silent about things which, if discovered, would result, I believe, in glory to God and in service to the King our Lord; for although the things in themselves may be so rare and may never before have been seen, to any one who will consider the wonders which God constantly performs in the world, it will be easy to believe that since He is able to create them He may have done so.⁶⁵³

If the stories recounted by Father Escobar caused astonishment and interest that was probably the cause for recording them, for, he continued:

With less than one hundred men it will be possible to verify the truth of all these things, both of the silver and the tin, or whatever metal is on the island; of the gold, copper, or brass bracelets or handcuffs worn by the Indians of the Laguna; . . . as well as of the monstrosities reported by so many Indians of ten different nations, scattered through more than two hundred leagues, some saying that they had seen them and others that they had heard of them.⁶⁵⁴

When Zárate Salmerón wrote his account twenty years later of Oñate's expedition to the sea he refused to accept the "prodigies of nature which God has created between the Buena Esperanza River and the sea. . . . When we see them we will affirm them under oath; but in the meantime I refrain from mentioning them, and pass them by in silence."⁶⁵⁵

653. *Ibid.*, V, 38.

654. *Ibid.*

655. Zárate's Relation, *op. cit.*, 280.

FIRST MEETING OF THE NEW MEXICO
EDUCATIONAL ASSOCIATION

(Address before the History and Social Science Section of
the New Mexico Educational Association at Santa Fe,
November 5, 1926.)

PAUL A. F. WALTER

Three points should be emphasized in introducing my subject: "The First Meeting of the Educational Association of New Mexico." They are not new but they bear repetition, they are general and yet material to this and other papers of this meeting.

1st. Modern historical research concerns itself primarily with the study and analysis of culture movements. Chronological data and biographical detail are of consequence in so far as they are aids in such study and analysis. A great and significant culture developed for a thousand years and more, here in the Southwest, without leaving us a single date or name. Yet, we have been able to construct a connected story of the people, their civilization, their arts and handicrafts and draw significant lessons from them. It is evident that it is important to learn the causes of the inception, development and decline of a culture;—it may be merely interesting to know the exact date and names or places of the incidents in the march of events.

2nd. The teaching of local and contemporary history should precede the study of general, and possibly national, history. We love our vales and hills and the source of true patriotism is always local. The significance of events which have happened about us and have moulded our environment and opinions is of primary importance in helping to determine our relation to the body politic, to the world, and in the interpretation of all history.

3rd. The history of education in the Southwest re-

mains to be written and it is more important relatively than the history of our wars or of our governors. Our historical writers occasionally have devoted a chapter to education,—but to them the term merely meant the history of our present school systems. They have overlooked the fact that here in New Mexico for two thousand years and more youth has been taught by its elders. Sometimes it seems to us who study American anthropology, that the methods of education of the Pueblo Indian, a thousand years ago, were better adapted in some respects to his needs, his environment, a rational philosophy, than are the methods of today adapted to the youth who must go out and make his own terms with life. The methods of education, in part visual by means of miracle plays, of the Franciscans in our early missionary history, and the teaching of youth under the Spanish regime, taken as a whole, seem to have resulted in stronger moral fibre than does the teaching of this day when parents have abandoned that field altogether to the schools. Even in the parochial school system one must concede advantages which thus far the public school system does not offer, with a result that is lamentable should we accept the daily news items in our papers as a cross-section and criterion of the culture and civilization of today.

Be that as it may, we recognize that the first meeting of the Territorial Educational Association held in Santa Fe during the last days of the year 1886 marked the beginnings of a movement in education which has resulted in giving the commonwealth an excellent, modern school system. The beginnings were rather insignificant and the setting for them not very propitious. Santa Fe, the capital city, although it boasted of putting on metropolitan airs, as was stated in the *Santa Fe Daily New Mexican*¹ a few days before that convention, was nevertheless merely a village of scarce five thousand people who lacked the facilities and improvements that make it such a charming place

1. *Santa Fe Daily New Mexican*, December 29, 1886.

of residence today. It is true, the new Capitol which was later burned by incendiaries, had just been completed. It was a Doric temple, four stories high, set down amidst one-story, adobe, flat-roofed houses. There had been built facing the public plaza, the first two-story brick business building, now the Masonic Hall, which was the special pride of the community, but there were only a few board sidewalks, no paved streets, no sewage system, few modern conveniences. The Territory itself had passed the 100,000 mark in population,² but on the entire east side there was no settlement of consequence. School houses were few and far apart and the revenue raised for schools would not be sufficient today for the school expenditures of the smallest of New Mexico's thirty-one counties.

Still, Santa Fe was a busy and crowded place in the December days of 1886. The Territorial legislature was in session and we read in the *New Mexican*³ that an excursion of seven hundred people, in nine Pullman sleepers, was due to arrive. That the convention was not altogether welcome, we learn from the debates in the legislative House.⁴ Representative Kuchenbecker offered a resolution that the free use of the House chamber be granted the Association for holding its sessions for three evenings. After spirited discussions, Mr. Davis moved to amend, naming Chief Justice Long and others as responsible should the house or its furniture be in any wise marred or injured, and prohibiting the charge of any admission fee by the Association. Mr. Leandro Sanchez, of San Miguel, made an able speech against the amendment, speaking eloquently of the need of stimulating interest in educational affairs in New Mexico, and advocating the adoption of Mr. Kuchenbeckers' motion. Mr. Fort and Mr. J. L. Rivera also spoke in support of this motion, and Messers. Davis and Dame of Santa Fe, and Mr. F. P. Chavez of Rio Arriba opposed it quite as

2. Census 1880 gives population as 119,493.

3. *Santa Fe Daily New Mexican*, December 31, 1886. Also *idem*, December 13 and December 16, 1886.

4. *Santa Fe Daily New Mexican*, December 29, 1886.

strenuously. The motion prevailed by the close vote of 13 to 10. The Association met only once in the Hall.

There was a feeling locally that this new movement was aimed against the Church schools and against the employment of the servants of the Church as teachers in the schools.⁵ It was also feared that the building up of a public school system would result in heavy taxation;—still, there were staunch defenders.

On the day before Christmas, forty years ago, the *New Mexican*⁶ published the following editorial which I feel certain from its style, was written by the late Colonel Max Frost, although he was not then as yet officially connected with the paper:

The existing school system can be greatly improved, and no time should be lost in so doing. We shall make a few suggestions, which we hope the legislature will heed.

A responsible head should be provided for. To that end, the office of territorial superintendent of schools should be created; he should have complete control of the system and of the county superintendents, and should have an office at the capital.

A normal school for the education of teachers should be established. The school districts should be authorized to determine the levy of taxes for school purposes, and should have the power to borrow money and issue bonds to pay for the erection of school houses, and to levy a specific tax for payment of same.

Funds should be apportioned amongst the counties and districts according to actual attendance of children. County school superintendents should be under the supervision and control of the territorial superintendent. Fines collected and poll taxes paid within any school district should be expended in that district. A uniform system for teaching and a uniform course should be adopted and enforced in all public schools.

If these suggestions are adopted and the present law

5. *History of New Mexico*, Pacific States Publishing Co. (1907), pp. 53 and 245.

Leading Facts of New Mexican History, R. E. Twitchell, 1912, p. 321
Old Santa Fe, Vol. I, No. 3, pp. 248 (New Mexico under Mexican Administration, Lansing Bloom).

6. *Santa Fe Daily New Mexican*, December 24, 1886.

amended accordingly, great benefit will result from such action and our territory will then have a very good and useful school system.

Three days later, Governor Edmund G. Ross, a famous and unique figure in Western history, in his message to the legislature dared to advocate woman's suffrage in educational affairs on equal terms with man's suffrage. One can imagine what a furore this created. That portion of his message dealing with public education had been inspired by those who fathered the Educational Association, and it may be well worth repeating even at this time, as it was in part the foundation upon which our present school system has been reared. Said Governor Ross:⁷

In this country the functions of government rest with and upon the people. They constitute in an essential degree the government. The officials are simply the agents who are selected for the performance of specific duties of administration. They are responsible to the people for the methods through which they discharge that trust, and by our ordinances are wisely required periodically to render to the people an account of their stewardship and receive judgment. The citizen is sovereign, responsible only to himself and to his country for the exercise of that function of sovereignty. He owes the duty to his country as well as to himself to exercise that function with integrity, intelligence and courage. If he is reckless, ignorant or indifferent in its exercise, he perpetrates a crime which can not but return in disaster, in the form of misgovernment, to both his country and himself. The duties of citizenship constitute a sacred obligation which no man can consistently or rightfully ignore so long as he accepts the protection of the law. It is the citizen who creates the law and establishes all the ordinances of government, political, social, and religious.

It therefore becomes a pre-requisite, in this of all countries, that intelligent education shall characterize all the walks of life, and to see that this is properly inculcated in the youth of the state, is the highest duty and most sacred function of government. Ignorance is slavery,—

7. *Santa Fe Daily New Mexican*, December 27, 1886.

intelligent education is freedom. No community can prosper, and no nation can long preserve its liberty, that fails to provide for the education of its youth. No man can be properly equipped for the intelligent discharge of the duties of citizenship without a reasonably thorough common school education, and that education the state owes it to itself for its own protection, as well as to its youth, to provide.

While the existing school law is a marked improvement upon what has preceded it, there are yet some defects, to which I desire to invite your attention, and to suggest methods for their remedy:

1st. Provide for a territorial superintendent of public instruction, with an office at the capital, who shall have the usual jurisdiction of such an officer, as at present there is no head to the system, and it consequently lacks that organization and coherency necessary to give it force and effect.

2nd. Establish a normal school for the education of the teachers. The great embarrassment to the successful institution of public schools, at this time, is the want of competent teachers, possessing not only proper educational acquirements fitting them to teach others, but also the necessary training for the preservation of discipline and the art of successfully imparting their knowledge to others.

3rd. A general act authorizing the school districts, under proper regulations and restrictions, to determine the amount of taxation that shall be levied for the ensuing year for school purposes, and the power to create school district bonds for the erection of school houses and to levy a specified tax for payment therefor.

4th. That all fines imposed by justices of the peace, and all poll taxes, be appropriated to the support of educational institutions in the school district in which such fines are imposed and such poll taxes collected.

5th. That section 1098 compiled laws of 1884 be amended so as to provide for the apportionment of county school moneys in August and February, instead of June and December, as now, which would require such apportionment after instead of before the settlements of collectors with the treasurers and county commissioners. As now, school moneys are practically withheld from school use several months in the year, to the detriment and embarrassment of the schools.

Also amend section 1198 so as to provide that the an-

nual report of the school directors shall include the average actual attendance of children of school age during the year, as upon these reports depend the official correctness of educational statistics.

6th. Apportion the school moneys of the county and district according to actual attendance.

7th. Provide for women suffrage in school affairs, on equal terms with manhood suffrage. This proposition I consider one of paramount importance to the successful administration of any public school system. The education of the children of the community can not be intrusted to safer hands than their mothers, for it is they who have most at stake in the proper moral and scholastic education of their children, and in the preservation of that degree of public order which only such education can best promote and conserve.

With these emendations to our public school system, together with such others as the wisdom of the legislature will naturally suggest, I have faith that in a very few years New Mexico will be able to present for the emulation of her sister states, a system of public education of splendid and effective usefulness, and that instead of being pointed to, as now, as an illustration of illiteracy, her people will take rank with the highest in educational attainments, as they now do in loyalty, in manhood, and in daring enterprise.

Just a brief reference to the history of school systems in New Mexico preceding the first convention of the New Mexico Educational Association. Historian B. M. Read tells us that the first school in New Mexico was established in 1599 by the Franciscans. This same chronicler⁸ states that as early as 1721, an educational convention was held in Santa Fe to consider ways and means to establish public schools in all the pueblos as well as Spanish settlements, in accordance with the command of the Spanish King. Every settlement was ordered to cultivate a corn field for the benefit of the teacher.

In 1812, Santa Fe, Albuquerque, Taos, Belen, San Miguel, and Santa Cruz were reported to have a public school. In Santa Fe the teacher was paid \$500.00 a year; in Albu-

8. B. M. Read, *Illustrated History of New Mexico*, (1912) pp. 326 and 533.

querque and Santa Cruz, \$300.00, while in the other places the emolument was \$250.00 a year."

In 1825, the Territorial Deputation granted Rev. Sebastian Alvarez a salary of \$1000.00 annually, as superintendent of schools of Santa Fe. Don Francisco Ortiz, offered free of rent for ten years a building in which the school was to be held. In 1846, but one public school with one teacher was reported in New Mexico, which at that time also included Arizona. In 1850 a public school law was defeated by a popular vote of 4981 to 35. It was in 1859 that the legislature imposed a tax of fifty cents for each child; the justice of the peace to employ a teacher, and to require attendance from November to April. The probate judge was to act as superintendent. After the Confederates had evacuated Santa Fe and the Federal troops had again taken possession of the capital, the office of superintendent of schools of New Mexico was created by legislative act in 1863,⁹ and the governor, the secretary, Bishop Lamy and the supreme court judges composed a territorial board of education. However, the superintendent's duties were perfunctory and in 1874, in order to give him enough to live on, he was also made territorial librarian. As late as 1885, the year before the first educational convention, W. S. Burke, superintendent of schools of Bernalillo county, which at that time included what is now portion of Sandoval and McKinley counties, said in his report:¹¹ "There is not a school in the county owned by the district. All the schools thus far organized are conducted in rooms or in buildings owned by churches or societies." The Santa Fe Academy, founded in 1867, was incorporated in 1878; the Albuquerque Academy a year later, and the Las Vegas Academy in 1880,—the census year in which it was reported that New Mexico had 162 schools, 46 school

9. *Ibid.*, p. 535.

10. *History of New Mexico*, Pacific States Publishing Co. (1907) page 247.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 248.

buildings and an average attendance of 3150 or less than twenty per school. Says one of our histories:¹²

In 1886 when the school law was inadequate and unfavorable to the spirit of development, when there were no schools worthy of the name, private institutions were struggling for existence, and educational interests were at a low ebb, it was suggested that the few scattered educators be called together and organized for united effort in pushing forward the cause of education in this great neglected portion of our country. From the small seeds planted then, has grown a thrifty tree whose branches overshadow the entire Territory. That self-appointed committee corresponded with others interested in education and called a meeting for Santa Fe in the holidays of December, 1886, when the present Association was organized. Its conventions have been held in the triangle of Santa Fe, Las Vegas and Albuquerque with marked development from year to year in the character of its work, with large gains in attendance and increasing improvement and influence as a factor in shaping the educational settlement of the Territory. The Association has used its power for better school legislation and the adoption of desirable text books. Its work in general is that of the older state associations and has the same objects in view in the raising of the teaching profession to a higher standard, and the advancement of educational interests and the cultivation of the social element among its workers. The distances to travel to reach a point of meeting in New Mexico are very great compared with many states, but our educators as a rule are wide awake to the needs of their work and meet the expenses of time and travel to attend the association's meetings in a way which is a credit to the Territory.

However, growth was slow and it was in 1891 before the first adequate educational statute became a law.¹³ Amado Chaves was chosen the first territorial superintendent under this enactment and it is a pleasure to note that he is still among us, active, and keenly alive to the educational advancement of the present day. In 1894 there were 324 male and 222 female teachers, a total enrollment of 21,471,

12. *Illustrated History of New Mexico*, Lewis Publishing Co. (1895), pp. 121-122.

13. *Leading Facts of New Mexico History*, R. E. Twitchell, (1912, pp. 507-508.

and an average attendance of 16,987, or five times the attendance of fourteen years before.¹⁴

The movement for the organization of the present Educational Association had its inception forty years ago.¹⁵ During the territorial fair at Albuquerque in the fall of 1886, several educators from Santa Fe, including Elliott Whipple, superintendent of the Ramona Indian School at Santa Fe, Col Wm. M. Berger and others, went to Albuquerque and there discussed with C. E. Hodgkin, F. E. Whittemore and others a territorial organization. This was followed by a meeting in the office of Colonel W. M. Berger, in December, 1886.

Many of us remember Colonel Berger as a knight-errant in many movements for the advancement of community and commonwealth. Together with the late Governor L. Bradford Prince, he probably organized more societies and associations and incorporated more companies for civic and public improvements, than any other individual so far in New Mexico history. He was in the movement that resulted in the founding of the University of New Mexico in Santa Fe, the Ramona Indian School, and other institutions which owed to him and Governor Prince their inception. He was an early advocate of woman's suffrage and prohibition. In fact, it is curious to read¹⁶ that even forty years ago, at the same time as the Educational Association was organized, Don Guadalupe Otero and E. A. Dow organized a branch of the Catholic temperance movement and that the Right Reverend J. B. Salpointe formulated the rules and regulations for the society. Colonel Berger was engaged in the practice of law in Santa Fe, and at the meeting in his office, it was resolved "that the time had arrived in the history of New Mexico when some action shall be taken with the view of organizing a Terri-

14. *Illustrated History of New Mexico*, Lewis Publishing Co. (1895), p. 112.

15. *History of New Mexico*, Pacific States Publishing Co. (1907), p. 122.

16. *Santa Fe Daily New Mexican*, December 28, 1886.

torial Educational Association" and the following resolutions were adopted:¹⁷

Whereas— We acknowledge in the foundation of all civil governments and associations one of the chief cornerstones should be popular and free education to all mankind, and

Whereas—The advancement of educational interest in any State or community can best be accomplished through regularly organized efforts, whose only and sole aim shall be to advise, counsel and direct the best modes and methods whereby the advantages, privileges and opportunities which are attainable may be utilized and directed for the general good of all concerned, therefore, be it

Resolved—That a convention to be composed of all persons in the territory interested in educational matters be convened at the city of Santa Fe, on Tuesday, December 28, and continue until the 30th inst., for the purpose of organizing as suggested a territorial association.

A program was formulated at this initial meeting. The first session of the committee on the entertainment of guests was held on Thursday evening, December 23rd,¹⁸ at the office of J. K. Livingstone over the Second National Bank, located in that first brick business block on the plaza, of which Santa Fe was so proud, and which is still one of the more pretentious structures facing the Palace of the Governors.

The Association met in the First Presbyterian Church on Tuesday afternoon, December 28th. The *New Mexican*¹⁹ reports that even more educators were present than had been anticipated. However, the auditorium of the church at that time did not hold more than a hundred people, and not more than forty school people were in attendance. An organization was effected with Professor R. W. D. Bryan, graduate of Lafayette College, an Arctic explorer, government astronomer with the ill-fated Hall Polar Expedition, who was head of the Albuquerque Presbyterian Indian

17. *Santa Fe Daily New Mexican*, December 7, 1886.

18. *Ibid.*, December 23, 1886.

19. *Ibid.*, December 30, 1886.

School in 1886, as president. Mr. Bryan's son looked in upon the convention yesterday, and we regret that Mrs. Bryan could not be with us today. E. L. Cole was elected secretary and Miss Carothers, treasurer. Telegraphic greetings were received from the Indian Educational Association and acknowledged. The *New Mexican*²⁰ assures us in its report that the enthusiasm and the interest shown by all, removed all doubt anyone might have felt as to the success of the movement.

Chief Justice E. V. Long, who is one of the few survivors of that first meeting, presented clearly and forcibly, so the report says, the need of popular education, especially in New Mexico. I had hoped that this grand old man, who is still active in public affairs, would come over from Las Vegas to attend this session. I conversed with him pleasantly but a few days ago. More than ninety years of age, his tall, willowy form is as straight as an arrow, his eye keen as that of an eagle and his intellect as sparkling as it was in those early days when he made a name and fame for himself on the supreme bench of the commonwealth.

The need of history in the schools was emphasized in a paper on "The Place of History in the Schools." It was given by P. F. Burke, superintendent of the Government Indian School at Albuquerque. Plans for a government Indian School at Santa Fe were under way in 1886; the first buildings of St. Catherine's Indian School were nearing completion. Another veteran of the New Mexico Educational world, Dean C. E. Hodgkin, whom we have the good fortune to have here, and who reviewed so delightfully, yesterday afternoon, incidents of that first meeting, spoke on the following afternoon, and presided at a class exercise. Later he presented a paper, "The True Basis of Determining Methods." Dean Hodgkin was at that time on the faculty of Albuquerque Academy, and soon thereafter became the first superintendent of Albuquerque's schools, the Academy being merged into the public school system.

20. Ibid., December 30, 1886.

Later, Mr. Hodgkin went to the University, where he long served as dean. At the present he is editor of the *New Mexico School Review*, New Mexico's only periodical devoted exclusively to educational interests. As editor of various University publications, as educator, philosopher, and leader in civic and educational movements, this youthful appearing, kindly veteran has merited the encomiums of our Association, and the gratitude of the commonwealth.

E. L. Cole, principal of the Preparatory Department of the University of New Mexico (Santa Fe) had for his subject on Thursday forenoon, December 30,: "Temperance Instruction in School." W. H. Ashley, principal of the Las Vegas Academy, spoke on the "Elements of Successful Teaching." "The Function of the Public School" was the subject of F. E. Whittemore's paper. He was then principal of the Albuquerque Academy. President Bryan had as his topic "The Education of the Indian," and in the light of modern discussion of the Indian—who is as much of a problem as he ever was—it is to be regretted that we do not have the text of that address, which undoubtedly was an able one. Had he lived, Mr. Bryan would have been 74 years old. He died more than ten years ago.

Santa Fe in those days had a kindergarten, and Mrs. S. E. Carpenter, who had charge of it, staged a kindergarten exercise in which her youthful charges acquitted themselves admirably. For many years thereafter kindergartens had only intermittent place in Santa Fe or anywhere else in the state. Miss L. A. Carothers, principal of the Santa Fe Academy, gave a class exercise in geography, while Miss M. E. Dissette, at present in the United States Indian School service at Chilocco, but then teacher in the Ramona Indian School at Santa Fe, was in charge of a class exercise by her Indian girls. I had hoped that Miss Dissette would be here today. Her enthusiasm and work among Indian youth are still being prized by the federal authorities and she is untiringly active in educational affairs.

The evening session in the new Capitol must have been inspiring. On Wednesday evening, December 29th, the Hon. J. P. Victory, later attorney-general of the Territory, delivered an address, taking for his subject "The Public School," and was followed by Mr. J. M. H. Alarid, who spoke in Spanish on the same topic. That it had its effect is evident, for on the following day, Judge N. B. Laughlin introduced in the state legislature Council Bill No. 2, to create the office of Territorial Superintendent of Public Schools,²¹ which covered some of the recommendations which had been made by Governor Ross.

It is also recorded that Walter J. Davis presented a vote of thanks to the members of the House from the Territorial Educational Association.

On the evening of December 30th, President Bryan made another inspirational address "Battling with Icebergs." A reception to the visiting delegates followed—and that it was a brilliant affair goes without saying. It was in the hey-day of Santa Fe as a military post, and the city prided itself on its military band concerts, and the splendor of its social events.

I hold in my hands the printed program of this meeting of forty years ago. It was presented to the Historical Society by Col. W. M. Berger thirty years later. To those who took part in that first meeting its sight will no doubt bring poignant memories. We find among those on committees for the entertainment of this convention, Hilario Ortiz, a lawyer who died several years ago, Mrs. M. Jeune Warner, who for many years was organist of the Presbyterian Church, Rev. O. J. Moore, Mr. Thomas, Mrs. Church, Miss Rowland, and others.

It may be of interest to know that in those days, too, the A. T. & S. F. Railroad granted a one and one-fifth fare for the round trip, that the committee on entertainment was prepared to direct delegates to suitable board-

21. *Ibid.*, December 30, 1886.

ing places at reasonable rates, and that the delegates from the south, returning home, had to wait all day at Lamy for their belated train. Dean Hodgkin tells how the delegates climbed the peak from which the sandstone for the new Capitol had been quarried, and amused themselves by rolling boulders down the steep hill.

It was a modest enough beginning, but the Association even then had visions of growth and progress, as well as of the triumph of the ideals it espoused. That this faith has been justified is abundantly demonstrated forty years after by this convention of which we are a part.

The following is a reprint of the program, of which only two copies are known to have been preserved, one in the archives of the New Mexico Historical Society and the other in the possession of Dean C. E. Hodgkin:

PROGRAMME

December 28 to 30, 1886.

Tuesday, December 28, 3 p. m.—Organization of Association.

Tuesday, 7:20 p. m.—Citizens' Meeting.

Address of Welcome by Hon. E. G. Ross, Governor.

Address by Hon. E. V. Long, Chief Justice, Subject, "The need of the hour."

Wednesday, December 29, 10 a. m.—Address by the president-elect.

"The Elements of Successful Teaching," by W. H. Ashley, (Principal of Las Vegas Academy).

"The Place of History in the Schools," by P. F. Burke, (Superintendent of Government Indian School, Albuquerque).

Wednesday, 2 p. m.—"Orthoepy and Reading," with class exercise, by C. E. Hodgkin, (Teacher in Albuquerque Academy).

"The Function of the Public School," by F. E. Whittemore, (Principal of Albuquerque Academy).

Discussion opened by Elliot Whipple, (Superintendent of Ramona School).

Wednesday, 7:30 p. m.—Citizens' Meeting.

Address by John P. Victory, Esq. Subject, "The Public School."

Address in Spanish by J. M. H. Alarid, Esq.

Thursday, December 30, 10 a. m.—"Temperance Instruction in the School," by E. L. Cole, (Principal of Preparatory Department of the University of New Mexico).

Kindergarten Exercise, by Mrs. S. E. Carpenter, (Santa Fe Kindergarten School).

"The Education of the Indian," by R. W. D. Bryan, (Superintendent of Albuquerque Indian School).

Thursday, 2 p. m. Class Exercise in Geography, by Miss L. A. Carothers, (Principal of Santa Fe Academy).

Class Exercise with Indian Girls, by Miss M. E. Dissette, (Teacher in Ramona School).

"The True Basis for Determining Methods," by Prof C. E. Hodgin.

Election of Officers and Miscellaneous Business.

Thursday, 7:30 p. m.—Lecture by Prof. R. W. D. Bryan. Subject, "Battling with Icebergs."

Social Reception to Delegates by Santa Fe Citizens.

THE TOLL ROAD OVER RATON PASS

(Paper read before the Social Science Section, N. M. E.A.,
at Santa Fe, November 5, 1926)

BESS MCKINNAN

One of the unique features of the old Santa Fe trail was a toll road maintained by "Uncle Dick" Wooton over the Raton Pass. The marvelous stories of the huge amounts of money taken in at the toll gate have been generally believed to be fabulous. Old timers love to recall "Uncle Dick's" business visits to Trinidad on the Colorado side of the Raton. They say he would hitch his mules and wagon outside the combination general store and bank and carry in a whiskey keg full of silver dollars to deposit. An old account book, recording the money taken in at the toll gate in a little over a year, gives proof that "Uncle Dick" could have taken his barrel to town with surprising frequency.

The Raton was considered the worst hazard on the Bent's Fort route of the Santa Fe Trail. The mountains were first called *Chuquirique* by the Indians because of the great numbers of small rodents found in them. The Spanish form *Raton* replaced the more difficult Indian word for Rat. Fremont is supposed to have given the principal crest the name of Fisher's Peak.¹ The first expedition made over the Santa Fe trail of which there is a known account was made in 1739, up the Missouri past the Pawnee villages to Santa Fe—according to Mr. Twitchell.² The first trip made strictly for trading purposes occurred before 1763. The mountain or Bent's Fort route of the old Santa Fe trail is the oldest. The first expedition following the Cimarron river over the plains, instead of following the

1. Hall, *History of Colorado*. Vol. 4, p. 192.

2. Twitchell, *The Leading Facts of New Mexican History*. Vol. 2, pp. 92-3.

Arkansas to the mountains, was made in 1822.³ The Bent's Fort route was in use almost a century before the Cimarron route. Even after the shorter trail was established many parties preferred the longer mountain trail to the plains trail which was continually menaced by the Indians.

There are many accounts of the crossing of the Raton. It was originally almost impossible for wagons to go over the pass.⁴ The experiences of the Magoffin party which crossed in 1846 were generally shared. It took them five days to make the fifteen miles through the Raton Pass.⁵ To quote from the diary of Susan Shelby Magoffin:

Worse and worse the road! They are taking the mules from the carriages this P. M. and a half a dozen men by bodily exertions are pulling them down the hills. And it takes a dozen men to steady a wagon with all its wheels locked—and for one who is some distance off to hear the crash it makes over the stones is truly alarming. Till I rode ahead and understood the business I supposed that every wagon had fallen over a precipice. We came to camp about half an hour after dusk, having accomplished the great travel of *six* or *eight* hundred yards during the day.⁶

A party of Col. Kearny's men under Capt. Moore had been dispatched ahead of the Magoffin party to repair the road.⁷

The Toll Road over Raton Pass was built by Richard Lacy Wooton, second only to Kit Carson as an Indian fighter, according to Col. Henry Inman.⁸ It occurred to Wooton that he could turn the Pass into an average mountain road. He planned to make money out of the project by charging toll of every one that used his road. The Pass was the natural highway between New Mexico and Colorado

3. Ibid., p. 104.

4. Col. H. Inman, *The Old Santa Fe Trail*, (1898), p. 347; *The Diary of Susan Shelby Magoffin, Down the Santa Fe Trail into Mexico*, edited by Stella M. Drumm (1926), p. 67.

5. Ibid., pp. 78-84.

6. Ibid., p. 80.

7. Ibid., p. 67.

8. Inman, *The Old Santa Fe Trail*, p. 341.

and would be used by the overland coaches as well as the caravans.⁹ "Uncle Dick" secured charters from the New Mexico and Colorado legislatures allowing him to maintain such a toll road.¹⁰

There is no record of such a charter in the early Territorial laws of New Mexico. There was a law passed on February 1, 1873, "concerning the Trinidad and Raton mountain road," declaring,

that any charter which may be held or owned by Richard Wooten or any other person or persons under the general incorporation act of this territory over any portion of the Trinidad and Raton mountain road running from Red River in the Territory to the town of Trinidad in the territory of Colorado and passing by the house of said Richard Wooten, shall not be received as evidence of the existence nor as the charter of any corporation or company and the said charter or so called charter is hereby declared null and void.¹¹

The toll gate dates from about 1866. In the spring of that year "Uncle Dick" built his home at the foot of the most severe grade on the Colorado side of the Raton Pass. To quote Colonel Inman:

The Old Trapper had imposed on himself anything but an easy task in constructing his toll road. There were great hill sides to cut out, immense ledges of rock to blast, bridges to be built by the dozen, and huge trees to fell, besides long lines of difficult grading to engineer.

To pay for his expenditure in building and keeping the road in repair Wooten charged toll. Uncle Dick thought his the only toll-road in the West. The early Territorial laws of New Mexico prove that at least two others existed for a time. The privilege to construct a toll road over Taos Mountain was granted by the New Mexico Legislature in

9. *Ibid.*, pp. 347-8.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 348.

11. *Laws of New Mexico, 1871-1872*, ch. XXXIV, p. 52.

1863¹² to be withdrawn in 1865.¹³ Another act allowed a company to build and maintain a road through Mora Cañon.¹⁴

The toll road had five classes of patrons: employees of the stage coach company, military detachments, American freighters, Mexicans, and Indians. The collection of a charge for the use of a road was beyond the Indian comprehension. They usually recognized Wooton's authority over the road and asked permission to go through the gate. Occasionally they left gifts but as a rule the old Indian fighter was too wise to care to argue with them about a few dollars toll. Uncle Dick claimed that the Mexicans gave him the most trouble.

There are many interesting stories told of the toll road. The Indian troubles of 1866-67 made military escorts necessary for the protection of the outfits. One large caravan of some one hundred and fifty wagons under the military protection of Captain Haley and a company of Californians and Mexicans passed through soon after the road was finished. The grave of Corporal Juan Torres stands witness to this visit. The corporal was murdered a short distance from the Wooton house by three soldiers whom he had ordered bound and gagged one night for creating a disturbance at a fandango in Las Vegas. "Uncle Dick" heard the death cry of the murdered man and very narrowly escaped the same fate. A man had been commissioned to kill him in case he interfered.¹⁵

The discovery of gold in the Moreno Valley of New Mexico greatly increased the travel over the Toll Road. It was estimated by the *Daily Colorado Tribune* of December 29, 1867, that "there are already 1000 Coloradoans in those mines and likely to be ten times that number in the Spring."¹⁶ Travel became so heavy that a daily stage line

12. Laws of Territory of New Mexico, 1863-64, p. 78.

13. Ibid., 1865-66, p. 172.

14. Ibid., 1865, Jan. 30.

15. Ibid., pp. 350-51.

16. *Daily Colorado Tribune*, Dec. 29, 1867; *Our Southern Boundary*.

was established,¹⁷ but in the fall of '68 this daily stage was not arriving daily as scheduled. One newspaper comment reads, "The coaches run tolerably regularly and generally with passengers and mail bag but seldom a through mail oftener than tri-weekly. Why?-Indians, of *course*."¹⁸

Accounts from early newspapers of Indian troubles and of overland coach robberies often mention the toll road. The Pass afforded excellent opportunities for such lawless exploits, but outside of occasional mention in contemporary accounts there has been almost no information concerning the management of the toll gate. It is known that "Uncle Dick" did not keep accounts of the tolls received, but it is *not* generally known that there was an account kept for a time during the absence of "Uncle Dick" by Wooton's partner, George C. McBride,— a "List of Money Taken in at Raton Pass Toll Gate."¹⁹ This yellowed and torn little account book includes a brief statement of the total amount of money taken in monthly for the year from April 1, 1869, to April 1, 1870, and a detailed account of the daily amounts received from December 1, 1869, to August 9, 1870. In a period of one year, three months and nine days, McBride took in \$9,193.64. The detailed daily account for eight months makes a total of \$3,378.28 for the toll gate partners.

It is interesting to note the items making up this amazing income from the toll gate business. Of all the charges made the toll on wagons brought in the most money. It is impossible to say exactly how many wagons passed over the Raton because many tolls, large ones, are briefly listed as "tolls," "tolls, etc.," "meals, etc." There are 779 wagons that are listed as such in the account. In all, there were probably over a thousand at a conservative estimate. The usual charge for each wagon was \$1.50. In the latter part of the account a few are admitted for a \$1.00 toll. These were probably light wagons. The largest single toll listed

17. Ibid., July 25, 1868.

18. Ibid., Oct. 29, 1868—*Letter from Cimarron*.

19. Account of Money taken in by George C. McBride, p. 50.

in the book was taken in from a caravan of twenty-seven wagons.²⁰ Other vehicles mentioned in the account do not total much toll. There are thirteen "buggies"²¹ and one cart.²² A charge of \$1.50 was usually made for the buggies and the cart was required to pay \$1.00 toll. Horsemen were charged a twenty-five cent fee. The list includes 143 horsemen. The "burros" were given the same rating as horsemen, and there are nine in the account.²³ Loose stock, cattle and horses alike, were charged five cents a head. This gate fee was collected on 175 horses²⁴ and some 213 head of cattle and loose stock.²⁵ There is one toll charge made on "lumber" brought over the Pass.²⁶

McBride included in his itemized account money received for food, lodging, feed, and a few articles purchased by travelers. Meals were given at the rate of seventy-five cents apiece.²⁷ Meat was occasionally needed.²⁸ Other food supplies included bread,²⁹ sugar,³⁰ and whiskey.³¹ There appears to have been a slight need for tobacco.³² Hay was needed for the animals particularly during the winter months of December, January and February.³³ There is a mention made of the sale of corn,³⁴ horsefeed,³⁵ and oats.³⁶

There were few purchases made outside of food for man and beast. Some skins were sold including hides,³⁷ ram hides, and a bear skin. "Blankets for the Mexican" forms

20. Ibid., p. 67.

21. Buggies," Account Book, pp. 57, 58, 61, 64, 65, 66, 67, 79, 80, 81.

22. "Cart," *ibid.*, p. 57.

23. "Burros," *ibid.*, pp. 56, 58, 65, 79, 81, 82.

24. Ibid., pp. 54, 56, 59, 67, 73, 74, 76.

25. Ibid., pp. 66, 67, 68.

26. Ibid., p. 57.

27. Ibid., p. 75.

28. *Mention made of Meals*, *ibid.*, p. 45.

29. Ibid., 10 times.

30. Ibid., 7 times.

31. Ibid., p. 63.

32. Ibid., pp. 51, 52.

33. Ibid., pp. 54, 55, 56, 57, 59, 60, 62, 63.

34. Ibid.,³⁵ 51, 68.

35. Ibid., pp. 51, 57.

36. Ibid., p. 69.

37. Ibid., pp. 53, 61, 69, 77.

one item.³⁸ Other enumerated articles are: a knife,³⁹ rope,⁴⁰ a candle,⁴¹ and matches.⁴²

A fifty-cent rent was usually made for the use of a bed. In December the toll-gate keeper took in an odd fee of \$2.50 "for hauling team up mountain."

Throughout the account, names of patrons appear. They are presumably friends of McBride.

Upon the return of "Uncle Dick" Wooton, the account was taken to a Trinidad lawyer for a division of the money taken in during the Indian fighter's absence. The partners had no further use for the "List of money taken in at Raton Pass Toll Gate." The book became the property of Mr. de Busk whose collection of unpublished manuscripts is invaluable. The original is now in the historical archives of the University of Colorado. This account book makes it possible to confirm with substantial proof, the stories of the immense sums of money taken in at Raton Pass Toll Gate on the old Santa Fe Trail. The year for which we have the account has many indications of having been an unusually slow one. Imagine what huge amounts the toll gate receipts must have reached during the gold rush. "Uncle Dick" Wooton must then have found his whiskey keg absolutely inadequate, acting as it did in the capacity of a wallet.

38. Ibid., p. 78.

39. Ibid., p. 78.

40. Ibid., p. 56.

41. Ibid., p. 52.

42. Ibid., p. 54.

IN SANTA FE DURING MEXICAN REGIME

(Interesting Chapter on the City of Santa Fe, from Benjamin M. Read's "Sidelights of New Mexican History" to be published shortly. Copyrighted by Author.)

GOVERNOR MARIANO MARTINEZ DE LEJANZA. - THE FIRST CITY PARK IN NEW MEXICO. - GOVERNOR MARTINEZ ASSAULTED BY THE UTES. - BULL FIGHTING AT SANTA FE. - THE PYRAMID IN THE PLAZA OF SANTA FE.

The detailed account of the important events indicated by the above heading, constitutes the last annotations made during the latter days of his life by the able and distinguished citizen Don Demetrio Perez for my exclusive use, being his reminiscences of the events embraced in the narrative. In the latter days of June A. D. 1913, Don Demetrio was visiting at Santa Fe, the Capital, and it was then, when very ill, that he wrote the said annotations in my own house, using an indelible pencil because the tremor of his hand did not allow the use of a pen. But the weakness he felt did not permit him to consign to paper the final phrase with which he intended to conclude his writing, and he could not even sign his name.

At the beginning of July, 1913, Don Demetrio returned to his residence at Las Vegas, N. M., realizing that the end of his days was approaching, and there he died as a Christian in the bosom of the Catholic Church after having received the last sacraments, on the 10th day of the month of December of the said year, 1913.

Of very great value for our history was the collaboration of Don Demetrio in the preparation of my "Illustrated History of New Mexico," for in that work appears the relation of the tragical death of Don Albino Perez, who was Governor of New Mexico in the year 1837, year of the in-

surrection of the Chimayos, when the said Governor was inhumanly murdered by the revolutionists in August of that same year. Don Demetrio, who was the son of the said Governor Perez, was made an orphan in the first years of his life, but his sterling honesty and his extraordinary capacity, from his youth up secured for him honorable and lucrative employment in public life and in the commercial world. A large part of the narrative relating to historical events of a local character published in my Illustrated History are productions of the illustrious deceased, and so I state in the work.

The above reflections appeared to me opportune and indispensable as a preface or introduction to the narrative of Don Demetrio; in order that the reader may understand and appreciate the historical value of the *Reminiscences*. Here follow *verbatim* the words of Don Demetrio:

(TRANSLATION)

Don Mariano Martinez de Lejanza, Governor and General Commandant of the Department of New Mexico, was appointed by the President of the Mexican Republic to succeed Don Manuel Armijo in that office, and arrived at Santa Fe, according to my recollection in the spring of the year 1844, accompanied by his wife Doña Teresita, whom I had the honor of knowing personally some time after her arrival in Santa Fe. Doña Teresita was looking for a woman to make her some clothes and for washing and ironing, and was informed that my maternal grandmother Doña Guadalupe Abrego followed the occupation of seamstress and that my mother Doña Trinidad Trujillo washed and ironed clothes, and with that object in view both went to our house in Analco, near the site where now stands St. Michael's College. I was then a little over 7 years old. The General asked my grandmother about my father and on being informed that I was the son of Governor Perez made me go near him and treated me with kindness and affection, and asked me if I was learning to read, and I answered yes and that I was beginning to spell, and that near home there was a private school under the management of a good teacher whose name was José Rafael Pacheco, which many boys attended. The General told

my grandmother to buy me a suit of clothes better than the one I had on, and gave her some money for buying the material necessary to make the same. They continued visiting us from time to time, he and his wife, and always giving us some help for our pressing needs. The lady, in particular, used to visit many poor families, whom she helped with provisions and clothing. I have no doubt that General Martinez was a man of large means when he came to New Mexico, for otherwise he would not have been able to use so much liberality in order to make such heavy expenses to help so many poor people if he had made such expenses out of the salary and emoluments of his office in the service of the government, for I believe these were not so high, and could hardly be enough for more than to live with the decency and comfort required by his high position. The very few persons living yet in Santa Fe may remember all what General Martinez did for the people's benefit, and the reforms made in the civil and military administration in the very brief period of one year which was the duration of his administration.

THE FIRST TREES

His first steps were taken in making improvements within the plaza square where there was not a single tree nor any vegetation, and in the same condition were the streets running out of the square in different directions. He commanded that uncultivated trees be brought from the mountain east of Santa Fe, and caused them to be symmetrically planted around the Plaza and in the streets. For the irrigation of the trees he ordered that an acequia be made taking the water from a spring or fountain located in the Cienega, on the east side of the Plaza, from which ran sufficient water and also yielded a supply for the irrigation of the gardens planted within the ample square of the wall where the barracks of the soldiers were constructed with some dwelling houses for their families.

In addition, General Martinez ordered that a plot of ground be selected on the Northwest side of the city for the plantation of an Alameda or Park of Recreation, which land was chosen by himself near the ancient country chapel of the Virgin of the Rosary, south of the same, wherein cottonwood trees and shrubs were planted which flowered up and gave wild flowers, also brought from the mountains and El Cañon of the Santa Fe river.

LA ALAMEDA. - THE FIRST PARK

For the irrigation of the Alameda he ordered that a ditch be opened, deep enough, at the foot of the chain of Hills lying on the north side of the Arroyo Arenoso, running from the Canada on the east, where runs the public road which goes from Santa Fe towards the Rio de Tesuque and the settlements of Rio Arriba and Taos Counties. The taking of the water which was to run in this acequia was made from the outlet of the Acequia Madre from where the cultivated lands on the north side of the Santa Fe river were irrigated, and this acequia had an extension of at least a mile and a half to the Alameda. At the same time that work was being done in the acequia, the work also proceeded on the Alameda, levelling the land and forming streets which started from the center of the square in different directions, an adobe wall being constructed all around the square; seats were placed along the streets and in the center of the circle reserved for a cock pit where those addicted to the game of cock-fighting congregated to see the fights between the animals, in which game money bets were made. On the west side, outside the enclosure of the Alameda, an adobe house was built to serve as residence for the man who was going to care for the Alameda. (The name of this man, according to reliable information which I was able to obtain from Don Clemente P. Ortiz, an aged citizen of Santa Fe and fellow pupil of Don Demetrio Perez, was Manuel, nicknamed "El Marrujo."- Benj. M. Read.) who with his family attended to the irrigation of the trees. In the spring of the following year, the trees and shrubs planted therein began to sprout and to give forth the tender branches and foliage, and after two or three years of being planted their ramage served as a shade during the hot summer days for the persons who sought rest and comfort under their shade, and the same thing was done under the shadow of the cottonwood trees found in the Public Plaza and the streets. The butchers who killed sheep placed the meat on perches which they placed under the shade of the cottonwoods planted in front of the Old Palace; on the west side, under the spacious porch of the Palace, the bakers were installed together with the fruit vendors and others who sold their diverse kinds of food for the people who depended on the market for their supply, for at that time there was no public building for the sale of such articles. Besides that, there were several

women who cooked dinners which were served to those who wished to take them there, and under the shadow of the cottonwoods the tables were placed for the boarders. Let us treat of another improvement of more importance inaugurated by Martinez.

A public school that he established for the education of the young under the charge of an excellent teacher, an Englishman whose surname was Tatty, in whose school there was taught reading, writing, grammar, arithmetic and other elementary branches; all of it in Spanish, for the teacher knew the language perfectly. During the few months that this school existed, the young men who attended made good progress in their studies. I believe the teacher Tatty was a Catholic for he went on several occasions to high Mass on Sundays with his pupils who marched in two well arranged lines, and he also attended to the instructions in Christian Doctrine which were sometimes given in the Parochial Church of St. Francis. This school lasted but a short time after, he (Gov. Martinez) was removed from his post, in the year 1845, being succeeded by General Manuel Armijo, whose discontinuation of this excellent school was greatly deplored by the fathers of family, who appreciated in a high degree the education of their children.

AMUSEMENTS. - BULL FIGHT. - REMOVAL OF THE PYRAMID
WHICH EXISTED IN THE CENTER OF THE PLAZA SQUARE

In June of 1845, in order that the people of the Capital might have amusement after doing their labor during the week, the idea was conceived of constructing a bull ring, in order that the people who, with rare exceptions, had never seen bull fighting in New Mexico, might have an idea of that diversion and admire the courage of the bull-fighters confronting the furious bulls, as it was the custom in the cities and towns of the Mexican Republic. Some men were sent to El Paso del Norte (Now Ciudad Juarez) to invite professional bull-fighters expert in that art, and seek ferocious bulls with the fierceness of those animals raised in the desert by the cattle raisers who kept them for the purpose in a state of wildness in order to sell them to the directors of bull fights in Mexican cities and towns, near the border. Waiting for the coming of the Toreadores and the bulls brought by them, tall boxes were constructed around the public plaza, made with strong timber and well

secured to resist the hard knocks and attacks of the bulls when they went after the banderilleros who entered the ring to fight with the bulls until they vanquished these infuriated beasts, leaving them on the scene tired or dead from the darts of the skillful toreadores, though some times it happened that those toreadores who fought the bulls, mounted on horses trained for the fighting, who in showing the slightest carelessness had the horses they rode killed by the bulls and were obliged to fight on foot or escape out of the ring by scaling the posts.

THE PYRAMID

I think it proper to mention here that before the construction of the stall boxes and fence around the Plaza there was in its center a Pyramid that had existed for many years and that was built after the independence of Mexico from the Spanish rule. This pyramid consisted of a log or post measuring, more or less, fifty feet in height, having as a base three square walls around, which walls were in the form of steps for ascension and descension. The first step was five feet high, and there was sufficient space on the top for the seating of several persons who might wish to stay there for diversion or rest; but most of the time those who congregated there were idle and evilly-inclined people, drunkards and gamblers, who were cause of scandal to the families, although they were often arrested by the officers of the law and kept in jail until sobered up, but the penalty and confinement did not deter them from returning to their resting place. Governor Martinez being persuaded that the pyramid ought to be removed from there ordered its destruction, and so it was done, though that pyramid was a memento of the glorious epoch of the independence of Mexico, for in the summit of the post there was an eagle on the cactus which is the national emblem.

INVASION OF THE CAPITAL BY THE UTES. - THEIR ATTEMPT TO MURDER GOVERNOR MARTINEZ.

At the beginning of the month of September, 1845, a crowd of Ute Indians entered Santa Fe, having come from the northern part of New Mexico, where that savage and sanguinary tribe dwelt on the great plains and deserts committing depredations on the settlements on the northern border against the peaceful inhabitants of the Territory

who followed the occupations of agriculture and cattle raising. These Indians, in the same way as the other barbarous tribes who infested all parts of the frontiers of New Mexico, made peace and were quiet for a time, on condition that the government would give them gratification or presents of cloth to cover partially their nudity, and of other articles of which they made use, such as tobacco, knives, looking glasses, string of beads and so on.

The crowd of Indians that entered Santa Fe in the afternoon of that September day, as said before, were mounted on good horses and well armed with lances, bows and arrows, axes, etc., and on entering the town they demanded that a place be assigned to them to pass the night, and they were given for this purpose the land of Doña Manuela Baca, mother of Captain Don Jesus M. Sena y Baca, on the Rio Chiquito, (at corner of Shelby and Water street- B. M. Read) and there during the night they kept the people in constant alarm with their warlike songs and continual clamor until dawn, and before the rising of the sun they had saddled their horses and three of their head chiefs commanded them to stay there on horse back, that they were going to visit Governor Martinez, and that they be ready to enter the public square when they heard a shout from them from the Plaza after seeing the General. These head chiefs were able to enter without being seen by the sentinel who was making his rounds in front of the barracks situate on the west side of the entrance to the Governor's office, who had gone in after having got up from bed and dressed, and there, seated in a chair was taken by surprise by these Indians who carried in their arms some of the articles given them as gratification and threw them in the face of the General, attacking him with their axes and knives, raining upon him blows which he was able to ward off by using the chair on which he had been seated, and at the same time calling for help on the guards. But before the soldiers of the guard came in he had the assistance of his valiant wife, Doña Teresita, who had the presence of mind to enter the office carrying in her hand the General's sword and gave it to him that he might defend himself, and the General made use of the weapon wounding one of the Indians named *Panesiyah*, the first chief of the Ute tribe, and then the Indians tried to escape, but the soldiers of the guard called by Doña

Teresita, were at the door leading to the Governor's office and there they killed the Indian *Panesiyah* and wounded the other two Indians, who though wounded, were able to escape and give the voice of alarm to their warriors who were ready to enter the Plaza and to kill all the persons by them found in the streets and in the Plaza. The soldiers of the garrison were already there well prepared with their arms, and the squadron of Dragoons of Vera Cruz, commanded by Colonel Don Pedro Muñiz, and a brief but fierce fight ensued which resulted in the death of many of the Indians, and only one soldier was seriously wounded.

Addenda. - After I had written these lines here in Santa Fe where I have come from my residence in Las Vegas in search of relief. . . .

Here Don Demetrio could not end the last words of the final phrase of this very interesting historical narrative, though from the few words he wrote in his "addenda" one infers without difficulty, that he had something more to say, which perhaps, he had forgotten, and that when it occurred to him he considered it of sufficient importance to consign it to paper, but his strength failed him, and he dropped the pencil telling me that he would send from Las Vegas some other annotations, which he was not able to do, for when he returned to his residence his mortal existence terminated, his death causing the State of New Mexico the loss of one of her most illustrious sons and to history many and very important reminiscences. May the earth be light on him and may his soul rest in peace in the mansion of the just.

December 15, 1926.

BENJAMIN M. READ,
Santa Fe, N. M.

NECROLOGY

FAYETTE S. CURTIS JR.

Fayette S. Curtis, Jr., one of the associate editors of *The New Mexico Historical Review*, died on the morning of November 4, at his cottage on the Los Alamos Ranch School grounds, twenty miles west of Santa Fe. Mr. Curtis had been more or less an invalid for years but had been bed-fast only a short time and the end came with unexpected suddenness, just a day before he was to have delivered an address to the Historical Section of the New Mexico Educational Association in session at Santa Fe. Though only thirty years of age, Mr. Curtis had made himself a name as a Spanish scholar, an authority on weapons and as a historical research worker. He had come to New Mexico from Yale University immediately after graduation, only eight years before, but he had learned to love the Southwest with a zest and a devotion that were manifested on every possible occasion.

At a memorial meeting in honor of Mr. Curtis, held by the New Mexico Historical Society in the Palace of the Governors on the evening of November 16, A. J. Connell, director of the Los Alamos Ranch School, told with emotion of the arrival of Curtis and his mother, from New England to take hold unassisted of the scholastic program of the Los Alamos Ranch School while Mr. Connell looked after the business and administrative end. That he was remarkably successful is evident from the growth and character of the school of which he was headmaster and which is today famed both for scholastic attainment and as an institution of unique character and distinction. Mr. Connell related how young Curtis had worked his way through Yale in part by tutoring, how he quickly adapted himself to western ways, how readily he gave wise counsel and

how loyally he submitted to authority when decision went against him, manifesting the true spirit of the soldier who has learned to obey without question and also to exercise authority with firmness.

Before entering Yale, Curtis had graduated from Taft School and had hoped to prepare himself for West Point but his frail health forbade. Nevertheless, he devoted himself to the study of military subjects, especially weapons and armor, and made himself an authority on that subject. He was familiar with the treasures of the great arsenals and war museums of the world and rendered the Historical Society of New Mexico invaluable service by cataloguing and describing its rich collection of weapons. During the days preceding his death he had been busy with his illustrated paper on "Spanish Armor and Weapons in New Mexico," his bride of only a few months, Rosa Margaret Curtis, who is a talented artist, making the drawings for the lantern slides and illustrations under his directions. When he realized that he was too ill to present the paper at the Educational Association meeting, he sent his associate Mr. Bosworth, to Santa Fe to read the paper for him, but Mr. Bosworth was recalled to Otowi by the tidings of Mr. Curtis' death. He read the paper, less than two weeks later, at the Curtis memorial meeting in the Palace. It will be published during the current year by the Review.

A scholarly contribution, "Influence of Weapons on New Mexico History" from his pen, appeared in Number 3 of Volume I of the New Mexico Historical Review. At a recent meeting of the Historical Society he had discussed most interestingly, the trophies of the Great War acquired by New Mexico during the past few months. Mr. Curtis had completed a translation of Villagras, the Spanish poet-historian, and was revising and annotating it for the Historical Review, when death overtook him. For the 1926 Santa Fe Fiesta pageant, he had written the scenario and dia-

logues covering the Kit Carson and Jedediah Smith episode, as well as the drama that so graphically portrayed the discovery of the Southwest by the first men. For the Fiesta of 1925, he had prepared part of the pageantry and for weeks preceding each event had given time and energy to train those who took part.

In all things, Mr. Curtis was the soul of honor. Sincere, earnest, gentle, studious, an indefatigable worker, modest, unostentatious and straightforward, he was greatly esteemed and beloved by those with whom he came in contact.

In accordance with his wishes, written down as part of a mutual agreement with Director A. J. Connell, the remains of Mr. Curtis were consigned to earth the day of his death. A grave was blasted into the tufa of the Pajarito plateau, on the edge of Otowi Canyon, not far from the Institution which he had made his life-work. The body was dressed in the school uniform, wrapped in olive-drab blankets, laid on a pine plank and lowered upon a cushion of pine boughs which were also heaped upon the beloved teacher. At sunset, there gathered the small group of mourners. It had been the wish of Mr. Curtis, that none of the pupils of the school be asked or urged to attend the funeral, but there they were at attention, standing beside their horses, silhouetted against the sky. The saddled but riderless horse of Mr. Curtis, to which he had been much attached, was held by one of the boys. Rev. Walter S. Trowbridge of the Church of the Holy Faith, read the Episcopal burial service. The widow, a few friends including the faculty of the School, were the other witnesses of the simple and yet, so unforgettable, obsequies. The peaks of the Blood of Christ Mountains to the east were purple with the alpenglow although the sun had set, as the mourners in silence left the grave under the pines and the starry sky.

PAUL A. F. WALTER.

FOR A FOREST BURIAL

(Courtesy of the Southwest Review)

Choose no sad words to speak of him. He lies
In ultimate peace, at last a part of earth
And knows no death. Through her he comes to birth
In every living thing. The star-swept skies
Hold no strangeness for him. He is one
With all that earth brings forth; with wind-touched
trees;
And shadow-lighted hills and far-off seas;
With mountains painted by the slanting sun.
For him no close-sheared, smug funereal mound
And cold stone monument—"Here lieth one
Whom now we mourn because his life is done."
Over him only lies the sheltering ground
And singing trees and unimpeded sky.
"Dust shall return to dust" is what they say,
But also life to life. He goes his way
Knowing it is no bitter thing to die
Who keenly lived and knows at last release
Into still keener life. We cannot know
Along what farther trails his soul will go
Gaily adventuring: what depths of peace
And numerous ways of immortality
Death opens up for him. But we are sure
He gave his body gladly to endure
As part of earth and many a shining tree.

Margaret Pond

Santa Fe, N. M., November 6, 1926.

JAMES A. FRENCH

On October 13th, 1926, James A. French, State Highway Engineer of New Mexico, died suddenly while in his automobile near the small settlement of Encino in Torrance County.

Mr. French was born in Washington, D. C., January 27, 1866. Among his relatives was Daniel Chester French, the noted sculptor. After attendance in the public schools at Washington and Georgetown University, Mr. French entered the employ of the Union Pacific and Chicago, Burlington and Quincy Railroads in Colorado, where he was with location and construction crews. From Colorado he went to California, and for a time was assistant State Engineer of Santa Barbara.

From 1889 to 1891 he was assistant on surveys of the upper Yukon and the 141st meridian boundary survey between Alaska and the Northwest Territory, for the U. S. Coast and Geodetic Survey. He then became interested in irrigation and engineering and served three years as Assistant and Chief Engineer on the Sunnyside Irrigation Canal Project, North Yakima, Washington, and as Assistant Engineer on the Imperial Valley Irrigation Project and Diversion Dam at Yuma, Arizona. From 1894 to 1902 he was again in Washington, D. C., employed by the Engineering Department in the planning and construction of sewerage and storm disposal systems. In 1903 he was assigned as Engineer in charge of Investigations on the Rio Grande and proposed Elephant Butte Reclamation Project. From 1904 to 1906 he was Assistant Construction Engineer on the Corbett Tunnel near Cody, Wyoming, a part of the Shoshone Dam Project.

He then returned to the Rio Grande, where he was with the Elephant Butte Reclamation Project until 1912, when Governor MacDonald appointed him State Engineer. For seven years, under several administrations, he continued his work of developing New Mexico's highway system. In 1923 he was re-appointed to the position of State Highway Engineer.

Mr. French had made many friends in all parts of the United States during his career, but was especially beloved and highly esteemed in the State Capital of New Mexico. He leaves a widow and three daughters. Interment was at Santa Fe.

W.

NOTES AND COMMENTS

Our attention is called to the following typographical errors in the printing of Dr. Mecham's paper published by the *Review* last July, "The Second Spanish Expedition to New Mexico."

- p. 266, line 23, and p. 267, line 23, *read* Father Agustin.
- p. 267, note 7, last line belongs to note 18, p. 280.
- p. 268, note 11, *read* Journey.
- p. 272. note 26, line 1, *read* south; line 3, *read* Rio.
- p. 272, note 28, line 2, *read* sixteenth.
- p. 273, note 30, line 2, *read* Report.
- p. 276, line 13, *read* Piquina.
- p. 276, lines 26 and 30, *read* Guajalotes.
- p. 278, line 10, *read* The people, . .
- p. 278. line 19, *read* Cochití.
- p. 279, line 16, *read* La Rinconda.
- p. 287, line 5, *read* Yuque Yunque.
- p. 283, line 13, period after "enclosure."
- p. 285, lines 22 and 28, *read* Jémez.
- p. 286, line 16, *read* Aconagua, Coaquima, Allico, . .
- p. 288, note 83, italicize title "Supplementary Documents . . "

Due to certain circumstances at the time, proof was not sent to Dr. Mecham nor was proper proof-reading of this paper done at the *Review*. The omission of "Coaquima" on page 286 was especially regrettable. L. B. B.

JEDEDIAH SMITH CENTENNARY

The old adage about a prophet being not without honor save in his own country was never truer than in the case of Jedediah Strong Smith, declares Dr. Owen C. Coy, associate professor of history of the University of Southern California and curator of history of the Los Angeles Museum.

"Jedediah Smith, as the first American to make his way overland from the Mississippi to California, was not

only one of the great prophets of western development, but one of the most inspiring characters in our history and yet not one Californian in a hundred, the beneficiaries of his daring, his hardships and his suffering, can even tell who the man was," said Dr. Coy yesterday.

"The Saturday following Thanksgiving actually marked the one-hundredth anniversary of the arrival of the intrepid trapper and explorer at Mission San Gabriel, and yet the day passed without the slightest attention being paid to its centennial significance. Southern California, most of all, should have paid him a tribute because, although he explored all sections of the State he first entered California through the Cajon Pass and spent his first three months here in the immediate vicinity of Los Angeles.

DRAMA TO BE GIVEN

"Thoughtless Southern California is going to be given an opportunity to 'save its face,' however," the historian continued, "and that opportunity will be offered by the Historical Society of Southern California next Friday and Saturday evenings at Bovard Auditorium, University of Southern California campus. At that time and place an elaborate historical drama entitled 'Pathfinder of the Sierras' will be presented by a cast of seventy-five with an additional hidden chorus, and all in Smith's honor. The great Jedediah will be portrayed by John Roche of the 'Don Juan' cast. Chief Yowlache will take part. The play, which is in three acts and six scenes, will be a colorful and accurate story of Smith's very short, but very thrilling and adventurous life. Smith was killed by the Indians in New Mexico when but 33 years of age, but he engaged in more than twenty battles with them before finally meeting his death."

The Jonathan Club has given over the large corner storeroom of its building as business and production headquarters.—*Los Angeles Times*.



THE LATE F. S. CURTIS, JR.,
Head Master Los Alamos Ranch School

NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW

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April, 1927.

No. 2.

SPANISH ARMS AND ARMOR IN THE SOUTHWEST by the late

F. S. CURTIS, JR.¹

A study of Spanish arms and armor in the Southwest is one which presents a number of difficulties, this for several reasons of which not the least is the small amount of actual material still in existence, especially on the armor side, as armor plates were all too easy to cut up and fabricate into other articles, once their original usefulness was at an end. A further hindrance to accurate statement is the peculiarity of technical terms and the loose use of them by early Spanish writers. Translators have often added to the maze by failure to grasp the proper significance of technical expressions which are capable of several interpretations and on the whole the subject matter available is in a rather painful state of disorder.

The present paper is more an attempt to start the work of clearing up the disordered conditions of our present sources and general information than to state categorically the actual arms and equipment of any given person on any specific occasion. It is, in all probability, by no means so free from error as a strictly scientific monograph should be, and it is to be hoped that such errors as may occur will arouse not only comment but authoritative correction and a more extended discussion of the subject.

The plan of the work has been to divide the Spanish

1. Mr. Curtis had prepared this paper for the history section of the State Educational Association, at its meeting in Santa Fe, Nov. 4-6. It was read at the November meeting of the Society, by his colleague, Mr. Bosworth.—The editors.

occupation into three periods, that of the Exploration and Conquest, that of Revolution and Reconquest, and that from 1693 to 1821, here called for convenience the Final Period. Within each period the subject matter has been divided into five groups, those of Swords, Staff-Weapons, Projectile Weapons (a designation applying only to guns, after the First Period), Helmets, and Armor, with a slight discussion of Artillery added, that branch of the military service having failed regularly to become of any real importance in the scope of our inquiries.

In each of the three periods such actual historical specimens as still survive have been examined so far as available, contemporary documents referring to armament taking second place and in such cases as were covered by neither type of information conclusions have been drawn from the general history of arms and armor during the period in question or, in some cases, slightly before it, a reasonable allowance being thus made for the delay in transmitting a knowledge of the latest improvements to points so far removed from their source.

Of actual equipment of the various expeditions in the Period of Conquest we know unfortunately little, since the members not only were markedly more able with sword than with pen but have not even left us many of the swords. As would naturally be expected, the Coronado expedition is much better documented than most, and the Oñate Entrada is best and most fully described of all, though even in the latter case our authors might very well be more specific in the information given.

Of Coronado's cavalry Mota Padilla is our clearest informant, telling us that they were "armed with lances, swords and other hand-weapons, and some with coats of mail, *salades*, and beavors, some of iron and others of raw-hide, and the horse with bardings of native cloth." Of the infantry he says, "There were 60 crossbowmen and arquebusiers, and others with swords and shields." He also states that the expedition had six *pedreros*, or small cannon, but does not consider it worth while to remark

further on these weapons, a valuation of them which was probably quite accurate.

This account, while one of the best, really tells us surprisingly little of Coronado's forces after all, and does present several interesting problems. What, if any, was the armor of the infantry? And there is very little indeed in the contemporary writers on the same subject that will help us at all toward an answer of any of these questions. A general survey of the whole field of arms and armor in the sixteenth century, however, enables us to fill in the gaps of Padilla's account and to answer the questions he suggests with a fair probability of reasonable accuracy.

Coronado himself and his chief officers probably went into battle clothed in full armor which covered them from sole to crown, discarding the less important portions while on the march and at all times protecting themselves by cloaks from the effects of the sun shining upon their steel cuirasses. The battle-helmet was probably used very little except when action was imminent, being replaced by a broad hat that was secretly reinforced by steel bands as will presently be shown.

For arms they had swords, daggers and lances, and very possibly made use of the dag or wheellock pistol, perhaps of the wheellock carbine as well, though the use of the matchlock is by no means likely because of the inconvenience of its use on horseback.

The cavalry, as we have seen, certainly had swords and lances, and the reference to other "hand-weapons" may mean pistols as well, and quite certainly includes daggers as these were an almost invariable adjunct to the sword. That they wore the *salade* type of helmet is a certainty, thanks to Padilla, and he also is an authority for their "coats of mail;" but what exactly does that phrase mean?

Originally the term "coat of mail" meant a coat or shirt of chain mail covering the wearer from neck to knees. This garment, however, had many disadvantages, and had been superseded long before Coronado's time — at least in military circles — by a coat of plate or cuirass. This

defence was commonly, though erroneously, called by the name of its predecessor, a usage perhaps not unreasonable, as it served the same purpose, but certainly confusing to one in search of really accurate knowledge. Even the term "coat of plate" is not as accurate as might be desired, for in the documents dealing with Oñate we several times discover that a man in a "coat of mail" was also wearing cuishes or thigh-armor. To presume that Coronado's cavalry were similarly equipped is by no means unreasonable, and if we add to the picture the protection for the arms which seems always to go with the use of cuishes we have them outfitted in what is technically known as three-quarter armor, covering the wearer from neck to knee, from which point heavy jack-boots completed the protection.

The horses are clearly stated to have been protected by bardings, or long, loose draperies which hung from the saddle and harness and furnished a partial protection against arrows and lance-thrusts, and it is not improbable that the horses of the officers had additional protection, on forehead, chest and croup, from steel or leathern plates.

We have already learned that the infantry were armed with crossbows and muskets, and some with swords and shields, and it is almost a certainty that the pike, the great standby of European infantry could hardly have been absent, while the halberd, the bill and the poleaxe, mentioned by Villagr  as part of O ate's equipment, must almost necessarily have been included in that of the earlier expedition. In regard to the armor of the infantry we are left very much in the dark, the equipment of Fulano de Tal² and Juan Comosellama being invariably of very little consequence to any one who wrote of heroic deeds and noble personages, so that in this portion of the field we are pretty well reduced to conjecture and deduction. These uncertain turns offer us two answers in respect to armor, and of the two both may very well be correct, as army equipment in those days was by no means thoroughly standardized, either

2. A Bit of the author's dry humor,—Se or "So and So" and "Juan What's his name,"—Editors.

as to branches of the service or even as to undivided companies.

The question of helmets is relatively simple, as the morion and the pikeman's pot were in almost universal use. In Europe the infantryman was, when possible, equipped with a leather jerkin, a steel corselet, and (depending from the latter) a pair of *tuilles*, steel plates which hung almost to the knee. The New World, however, had invented a different type of armor which, for New World conditions, afforded very effective protection. This was a coat of tightly-quilted cotton, covering the wearer to the middle of the thigh, and effective to a large extent not only against the piercing effect of arrows and lances but also against the crushing blows of clubs and stone-hammers. The Spaniards found this type of armor in use among the Aztecs, and it is hardly to be doubted that its advantages in lightness, mobility and relative coolness caused its adoption to a considerable extent. So great an authority as Charles F. Lummis speaks of its use by the Spaniards, and the probability that at least some of Coronado's infantry wore it is reasonably strong.

The artillery of the whole First Period was fearfully crude, inaccurate and undependable, and in general more effective in its terrifying sound than in its actual destructive power, though Villagr  does report an instance, in the great  coma fight, where a *pedrero* liberally loaded with spikes did very respectable execution.

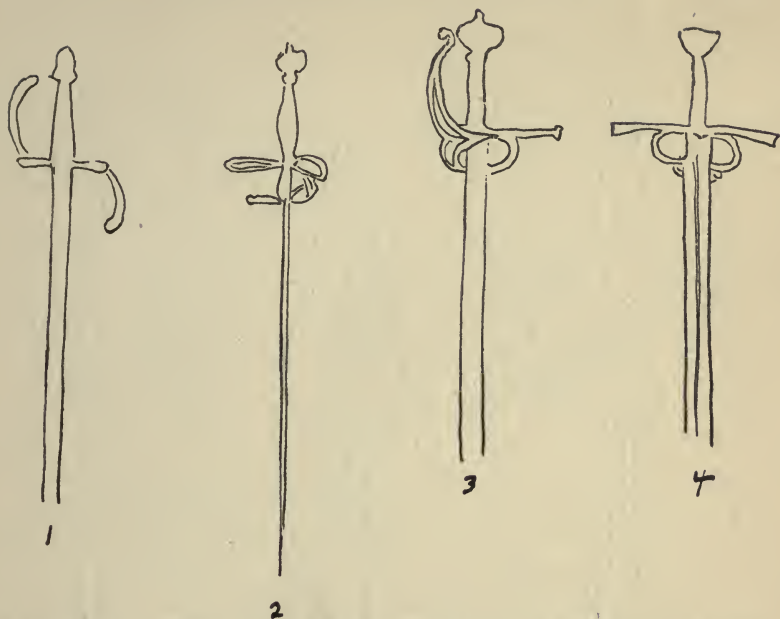
O ate's expedition is, in general, by far the best documented of the First Period, but unfortunately the careless terminology of the writers has, from our point of view, spoiled or made very difficult much of what they tried to convey. O ate's contract specifies a large number of military articles to be provided, among which we find leather shields, lances, halberds, coats of mail, cuishes, helmets with beavours, horse-armor, arquebuses, swords, daggers, complete corselets" — i. e., suits of full armor — war-saddles and leathern jackets, and his competitor, Don Pedro Ponce de Leon offers, in addition, steel shields and cross-

bows. We also learn from the papers of De Leon that flint arquebuses were used in the Indies, and that matchlocks were waning in popularity. Dr. Santiago del Riego, in a letter to the King regarding Oñate's expedition, says of the cavalry that at least every other man is to have helmet and beavor, a coat of mail with cuishes, horse armor and harguebus. Vicente de Zaldívar is mentioned as having charge of seventy arquebuses, thirty muskets (probably match-lock), a hundred coats of mail, a hundred pair of cuishes and fifty leathern jackets or hides for making them. The manifest of personal property taken by Don Luís de Velasco adds little to the list of major military articles, but is interesting in its mention of such minor ones as powder-horn, priming-horn, screws for drawing defective charges, bullet-molds, and keys for winding up the locks of the wheellock arquebuse, (an item which has evidently puzzled translators because of the change in the modern use of the term "*llave*."

From the whole mass of detail furnished we may assemble the conclusion that the officers were armed and armored much as those of Coronado, and that the cavalry too, had changed little from the earlier day except as to being armed with arquebuses. As to the infantry we are again left in the dark, the probability being that this arm of the service in Oñate's expedition was made up chiefly of Thascalan Indians. Villagrà, in Canto xxvii of his "Histlascalan Indians. Villagrà, in Canto XXVII of his "History" gave a fairly complete summary of the weapons mentioned by the other writers quoted, but even he, complete and even verbose as he generally is, has nothing to say of the infantry.

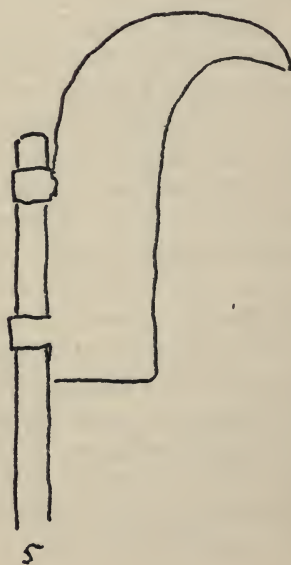
The accompanying plates recapitulate and illustrate the material dealt with up to this point, and to some extent clarify the meaning of the terms used.

In Plate I we have a group of swords of the 16th century, numbers 1 and 4 being used by the infantry numbers,



2 and 3 by either mounted or dismounted officers and requiring a certain knowledge of fencing to be managed effectively.

Plate II show a group of staff weapons, so called because affixed to the end of a staff five to eight feet long. Number 1, a halberd, was in theory a very dangerous weapon, as it offered possibilities of attack with the cutting edge, the hammer, hook or spike opposite the blade, and the pike-point at the top. In practice it survived longer than some of its contemporaries, but was outlived by both the lance and pike, illustrated by numbers 3 and 2 respectively. Both of these latter were used for the thrust only, but the lance was for the use of cavalry while the pike was purely an infantry weapon. Numbers 4 and 5, the poleaxe and bill, were also for dismounted men. Designed to crush and shear through armor, both were exceedingly heavy and developed great force in the hands of a skilled bearer, but that fearsome individual had to be allowed liberal elbow-room when in action or friends were likely to suffer equally with foes.



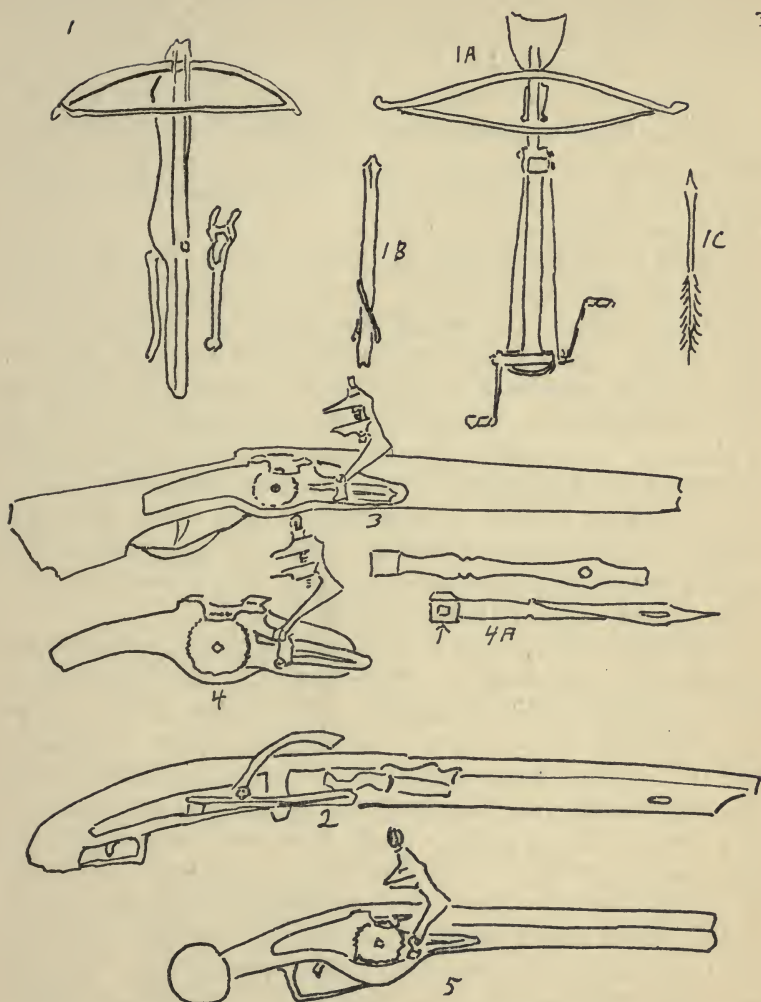


Plate III shows a series of projectile weapons which, in date of invention, cover a great span of centuries yet all saw use together during the First Period of our discussion. Numbers I and IA, crossbows, represent the chief projectile weapon of the European continent throughout the Middle Ages. Bow number I was cocked by the

oddly designed lever shown beside it, while IA submitted to the slower but more dependable process of tension produced by the crank and roller shown, the bow being held upright by placing a foot in the stirrup provided for the purpose. Both weapons shot the short, heavy "bolts" exemplified by IB and IC, the former being especially interesting because of replacing the fragile feathering by narrow vanes of leather.

Number 2 on this plate, the matchlock, is one of the first successful types of gun. The piece having been loaded from the muzzle, the pan at the right side of the breech was primed with fine powder which was then jarred into the flash-passage by a slap of the hand and the piece was then ready to fire. The firing was accomplished, as it is to this day, by a pull of the trigger, but in the case of the matchlock the descending hammer carried actual fire, namely the lighted end of a slow-match (the slack dropping around the gunstock or being carried in the musketeer's hand), resultant explosion occurring with reasonable certainty inside about fifteen seconds.

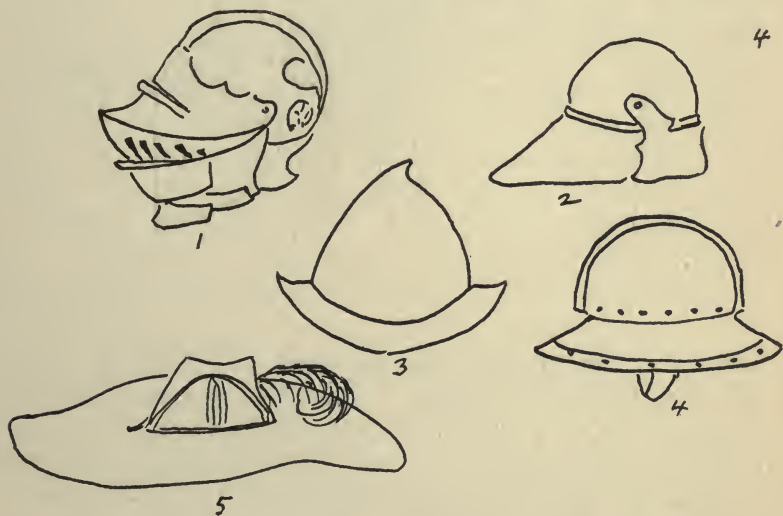
Numbers 3, 4 and 4A show the next stage in gun-invention, the wheellock gun together with an enlargement of its peculiar lock and the key which was used to wind it. The first step in the manipulation of the wheellock was the same as in its predecessor, to ram powder and ball down the muzzle, and similarly the second was to prime the pan and set the priming. Next, however, came an operation peculiar to the wheellock, that of winding. The key was fitted to the square stem projecting from the center of the wheel and a powerful spring on the inner side of the lock plate was wound to full compression. The key was then removed and the weapon was ready for action as soon as the hammer was cocked.

The wheel was either notched or grooved all along its circumference, and as may be seen, it projected into the pan. The pull of the trigger not only snapped the flint held in the jaws of the hammer down on the edge of the wheel but also released the coil-spring so that the wheel revolved

against the flint with great rapidity and force, insuring a plentiful shower of sparks and a fairly quick and certain explosion. Needless to say there was occasionally more explosion than was bargained for, owing largely to uneven powder and an undue optimism as to how big a charge the piece would carry, to say nothing of a shocking liberality in the number of bullets to a single charge. Villagr  records the use of four slugs to the load only because a careless comrade of the shooter happened to receive all four in his person, while the real wonder worthy of record is that the gun remained intact.

Number 5 shows the wheelock or dog pistol, similar in mechanism to the gun, but of even clumsier design, yet adjudged a "soveraygne defense in sodayne onfall or surprysall, whanne 2 dagges maye well save thee thye lyfe twyse over ere a rappier canne bee drawne."

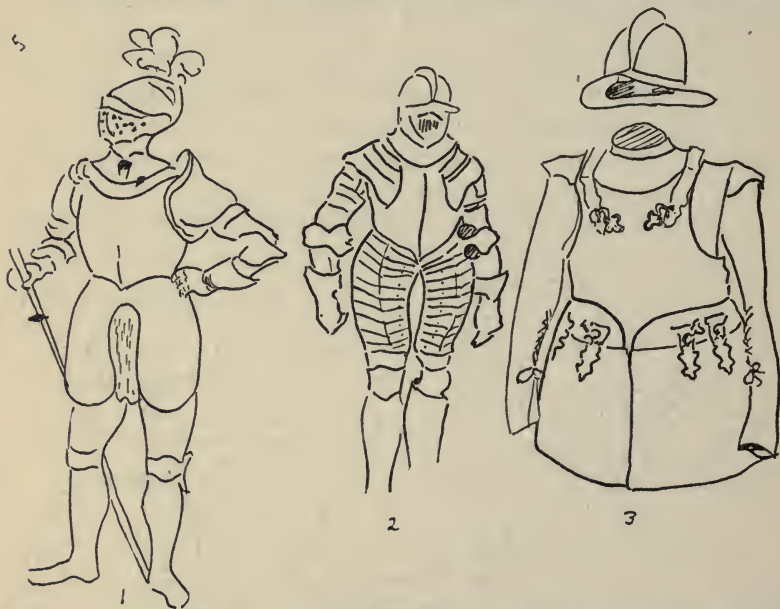
Plate IV shows the headgear of the First Period, num-



ber I being the armet, or close-helmet, used by the officers, light, fairly comfortable, and provided with a movable visor. Numbers 2 and 2A are the helmets of the cavalry, 2 being a *salade* with beaver and 2A a *burgonet*. 3 and 4

are, respectively, a morion and a pot-helmet (or pikeman's-pot), both largely infantry armor, but not disdained by officers on light duty. The favorite headgear of the officer at his ease, however, was the reenforced hat shown at No. 5, where the protection — no less effective because concealed — was furnished by an iron band encircling the head to which were affixed two more, one crossing the head from front to back and one from side to side, all well padded and sewn firmly inside the castor.

Plate V shows the full, the three-quarter, and the half



suits of armor, the last supplemented by a leathern jacket and the addition of tuilles. The three-quarter suit was also pieced out with leather, as the boots were of that material, furnishing a protection lighter than the greaves and sabbatons of the full suit and of reasonable effectiveness.

By the time our Second Period is under way conditions in Europe had changed to such an extent that armor was rapidly fading from the picture, not so much from the development of firearms as from the introduction (by

the Great Gustavus) of the tactics of rapid movement and the average soldier's perennial distaste for lugging around any more than he had to. For the European soldier this was no doubt all very well; his enemy behaved according to rigidly fixed rules, moved on easily predictable lines, and there was seldom a marked inequality between forces that the weaker body could not quickly offset by retreat to a friendly city-fort. For the Spaniard in the Southwest the situation was, however, not the same. His chief enemy fought according to no rules at all, moved in a fashion absolutely impossible to foretell from one minute to the next and with a speed that the Spaniard could never hope to equal except in dreams, besides which the Spaniard was always in the minority and the distance between fortified places was always extreme. The Spaniard, then, still needed armor, and the testimony of 1680 tells us that he needed it very badly indeed. Armored against the Indian arrows and equipped with firearms the Spaniard could still cut his way through swarms of Indians, as the garrisons of Santa Fe and Isleta showed, but, when caught without a reasonable supply of both, the success of the Revolutionists elsewhere shows on what the Spanish strength depended, not that the Spaniards are at all backward in stating the facts in the case, either for Otermín's papers are full of references to the scarcity of both armor and arms as well as the poor condition of what little was available, and Garcia's main reason for abandoning Isleta was the hope of meeting the supply train from Old Mexico with its store of arms and munitions. Even the recapture of a miserably few lances and leathern jackets from the besiegers of Santa Fe was a matter for comment on Otermín's part, and well it might have been, for a statement laid before him later, at the camp of Salinetas, reveals that out of some 2500 persons present only 36 men were provided with armor while most had not even leathern jackets; a sword and musket were the arms of most of the 155 men who were considered "fit for service" and of that poor array many of the muskets are reported as broken and

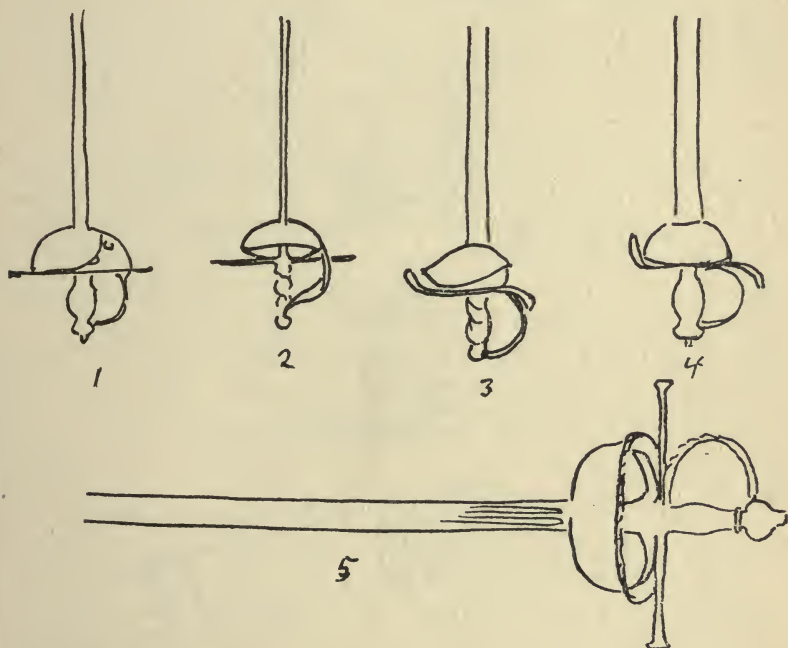
dangerous to shoot. To describe the equipment of the troops by branches of the service was probably as much a problem to poor Otermín as to a more modern writer, for it was very evidently a case of every man making the best of what he had, the cavalryman trusting his tottering steed to last out the day, the infantryman nursing his broken gun with strips of rawhide, the officers encouraging their men with smiles frozen on their faces while they fingered their rosaries in prayer for courage to carry on, and everyone thinking of the armor and weapons that the Indians had captured.

Of the expeditions made by the governors between Otermín and De Vargas we know very little on the equipment side except for the fact that on his first attempt at reconquest Otermín supplied somewhat the lack of armor of the conventional pattern by making some from boiled ox-hides, an ancient process which had been obsolete for years. That some of the European improvements had reached this country we may infer from the more frequent mention of artillery. Of the equipment of De Vargas, also, we know little specifically, though we know in general that his troops were considered well fitted out for their work and consisted chiefly of cavalry.

For the period in general we may fairly safely say that the cavalry wore headpieces — usually the morion — body armor ranging from three-quarter to the cuirass alone, and heavy leather gauntlets and boots, the officers being dressed much like the men and all armed with lance, sword, musket and possibly pistols. Infantry seem to have worn the cuirass and leathern jacket with morion or reenforced hat and carried pikes, halberds and muskets, the flintlock having pretty well superseded both match and wheellocks. Shields were still used by both mounted and dismounted troops, being an excellent defense against arrows.

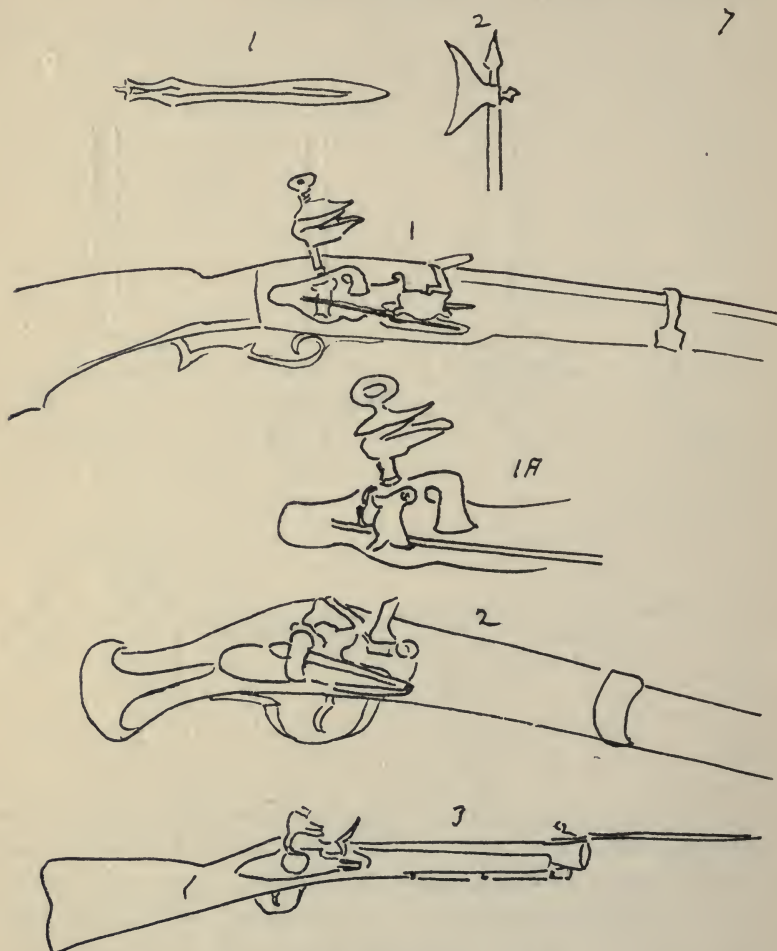
Plate VI reveals the fact that the swords of the period were rather monotonously similar, all running to the double-edged blade, the cup guard and considerable length. There was little distinction between swords for military

use and those for ordinary wear, or between the cavalry sword and that of the dismounted man. The first four illustrated all belong to this more or less standardized type, while the fifth, a horseman's blade, differs more in size and elaboration than in any essential detail.



At the top of Plate VII we have the head of a lance (drawn from a specimen in the collections of the Historical Society) and a halberd, these two articles being very nearly the only staff-weapons in common use in the Second Period as the infantry had pretty generally abandoned the pike, etc., for the bayonet, though the halberd was retained as the designation of the sergeant. Number I is a flint-lock musket and number 2 a pistol of similar mechanism,

number 1A showing the singular type of lock common to both and characteristic of the period. Both weapons were loaded from the muzzle and primed at the pan, after which the pan-cover was shut down. The piece being cocked and



the trigger pulled, the flint held in the jaws of the hammer flew upon the frizzen (the rectangular piece rising at right angles to the pan-cover), forced open the pan and struck

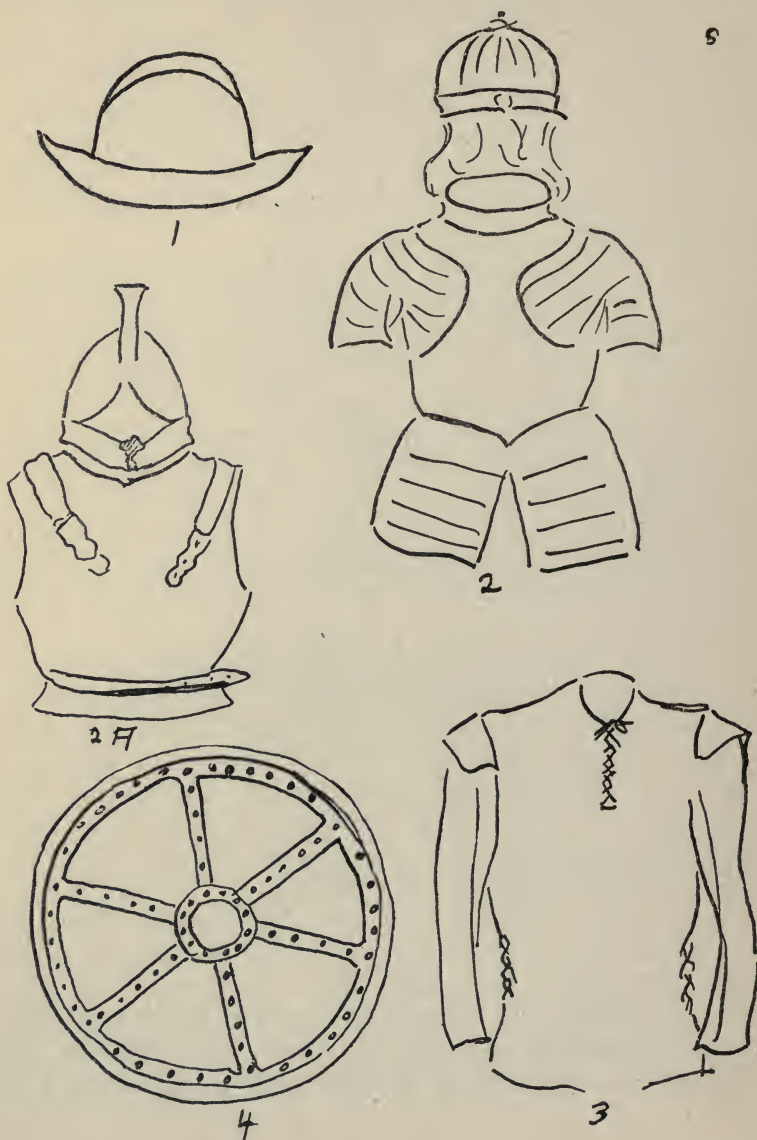
a shower of sparks into the priming. That the jaws of the hammer sometimes served a purpose not originally intended we learn from the Otermín documents, in one of which it appears that an Indian prisoner showed some reluctance towards telling his captors what he knew of the Revolution. The governor, anxious for this man's testimony, ordered a gun to be brought, and, the flint being removed, the thumb of the recalcitrant Indian was placed in the jaws of the hammer. A few turns of the tightening-key removed the reluctance of the witness, and the length of his deposition would suggest that he had no desire for a repetition of his experience.

The flint blunderbuss shown in Number 3 is not certainly of the period in question, the lock in particular, with its mechanism chiefly concealed, varying sharply from that in the pieces previously considered. The general blunderbuss type however, was already well known and peculiarly useful at short range because of the rapid spread of a large charge of projectiles, and there can be little doubt that the blunderbuss was known and used here before the 18th century. The spring bayonet illustrated was a common and useful addition to both blunderbuss and pistol and was folded back along the top of the barrel when not in use.

It may be added here that the Historical Society of New Mexico is particularly fortunate in owning a number of guns of the type shown in 1 and 2. Especially characteristic of its origin and era and practically unknown outside the Spanish sphere of influence, remarkably easy to construct, fit and repair, this weapon and its lock are almost an embodiment of the Spanish colonist from the Pueblo Revolution to the 19th century.

Plate VIII shows such armor of the Second Period as was developed in that era, much armor having, beyond a doubt, continued in use from the previous epoch as well. No. 1 is a morion of somewhat more effective design than that previously shown, and was used by both mounted and dismounted troops. No. 2, a suit of half-armor, gives pro-

tection to the upper arm and thigh as well as the body, the lower arm being covered by elbow-length gauntlets of heavy leather and the lower leg by boots of similar con-



struction. No. 2A is half-armor in its simplest form, consisting of breast and back plates only, and protecting only the most vital organs of the body. No. 3 is a leathern jacket, reenforced at the shoulder and equipped with lacings at the waist to give a tight fit and so prevent folds or wrinkles in which the point of a weapon might catch. No. 4 is a shield or target, made of leather and studded with brass nails. Metal shields of a similar pattern were also used to some extent, but were less popular as giving little more protection to offset the greater weight.

The last period to be considered is not only long but one full of change. Enumeration of all the changes that occurred would be unduly tiresome, but a brief survey of the more important ones is relevant to the problem in hand. The sword worn with civilian dress became lighter and lighter, and the use of the edge was more and more discarded for that of the point until we have the small-sword or court-sword, and at last the civilian abandons the sword entirely. The military sword, on the other hand, becomes somewhat shorter and much curved and we have the sabre, using the edge almost exclusively and well adapted to unskilled use. The lance becomes slightly shorter and considerably lighter, and the pike vanishes from most places but is retained where poverty is a governing factor, as in our Southwest. The Historical Society has, also, a most interesting proof that the bill had not entirely disappeared, as a Spanish type of sickle, shaped much like the bill, in the collections in the Governors' Palace is so constructed as to be easily available for use as such a weapon. Home-made lances also were constructed here, the author having an excellent example the blade of which shows signs of having been originally a file. The author also owns a stone-headed club much of the type used by the Indians, which, according to the former owner, was commonly used by the local Spaniards in fighting the Navajoes and Comanches. The flintlock continued to reign as the weapon of the regular forces, but towards the end of the period the cap-lock or percussion-lock gained favor

among civilian users, while the militia in New Mexico had recourse to bows and arrows to an extent not inconsiderable, Kendall, in his account of the Texas-Santa Fe Expedition, mentioning them several times. Armor, too, was gradually disappearing, but that it was in use here to some extent may be reasonably supposed when we learn that in the American Period teamsters hauling hay along the military road from the Valle Grande to Santa Fe wrapped cowhides about their bodies as a defense from the arrows of raiders.

On the whole, any attempt to picture the military equipment of this Final Period in any fixed or even orderly manner would be almost impossible. While regular troops had a fairly definite requirement to meet, New Mexico had few regulars, and the militia seem to have armed themselves as best they could, their weapons belonging to all periods and many sources, as many of the flint and percussion guns of this era were imported from England and Belgium, as well as a few from the United States. Artillery, which had been brought by Napoleon to a state of efficiency not greatly exceeded until after our Civil War, was of little use in the type of fighting common in the Southwest, and there seem to have been very few pieces here.

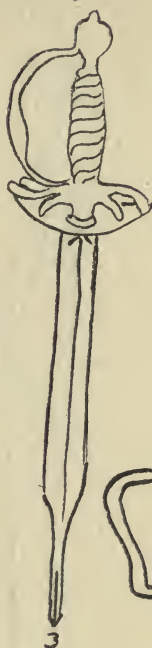
Plate IX shows rather clearly the sword development in the Final Period. Numbers 1 and 2 are already lighter than the earlier swords; number 3 is a curious half-way marker, the portion nearest the hilt being wide to give strength in parrying and the lower two-thirds of the blade being very narrow to give lightness and mobility. Number 4 is the true small-sword, triangular in section, weighing barely a pound and using the point only. Number 5 is the heavy, rather clumsy sabre common to the first half of the Final Period, and number 6, a sabre of the latter half, is an example of the increasing tendency towards lightness and mobility.



1



2



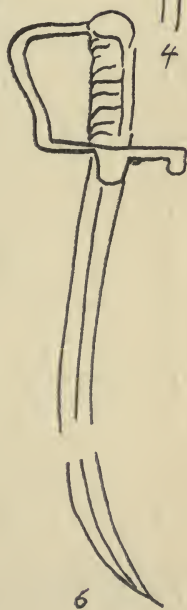
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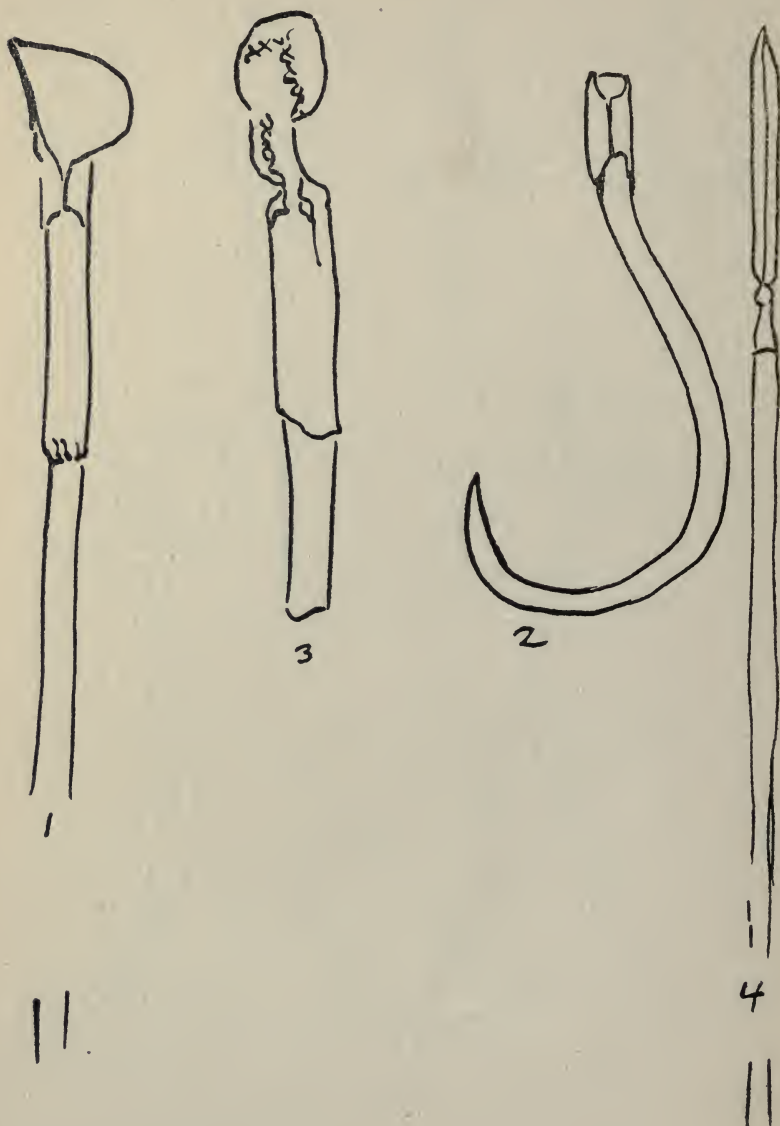


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Plate X shows the final group of staff weapons. Number 1 is the homemade lance already mentioned. The staff

16



is pierced near the balance, very evidently for a thong to prevent loss, and the curiously shaped blade is so shaped and edged as to insure the infliction of a very severe wound. Number 2 is the combination of sickle and bill referred to previously, and number 3 the club or *macana*. Number 4 is a pike which may be claimed as an ancestor of the modern sword-bayonet, as it has a cutting edge in addition to its point.

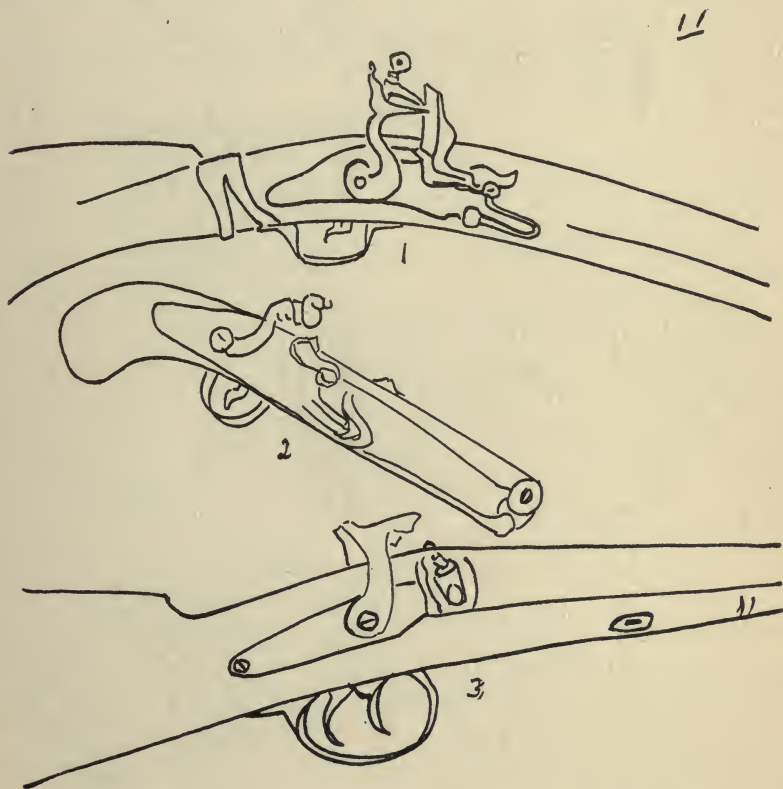
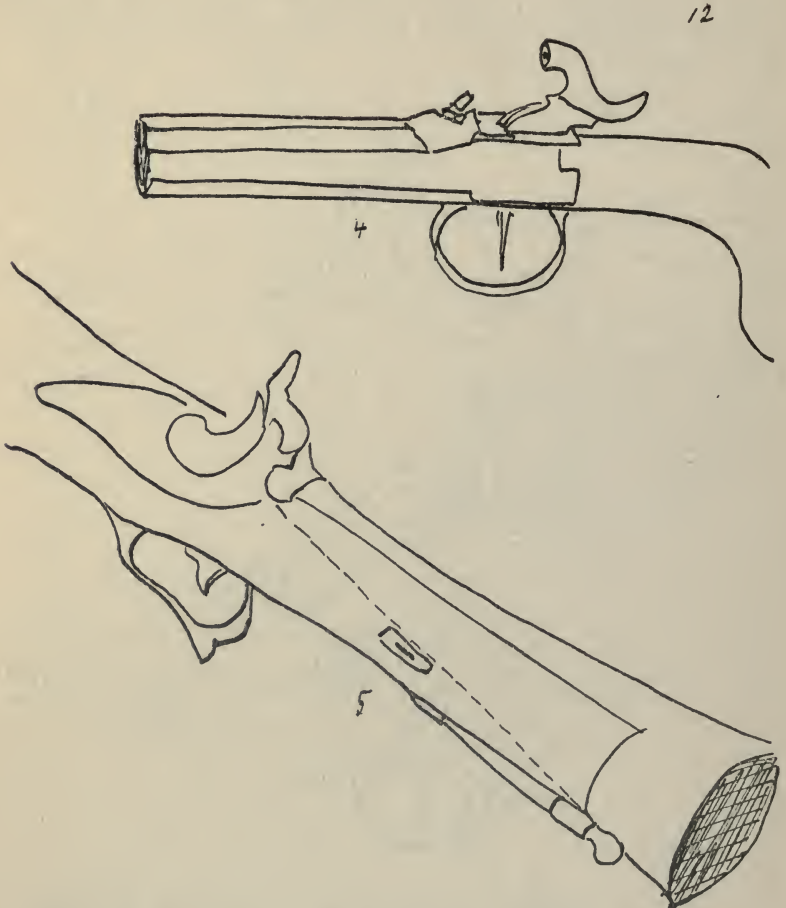


Plate XI, number 1, shows one of the English-made flint muskets which were imported into the Southwest, the whole design and finish of the piece showing marked advancement beyond the weapons of the Middle Period. Number 2, a pistol of the same era as number 1, also shows

the improvement in workmanship and design that a century or more had brought forth, though the dangers of more graceful construction are shown by the broken frizzen. Number 3 is a percussion or cap-lock shotgun, a piece in which the charge, loaded still from the muzzle, was fired



by the hammer exploding a bit of mercury fulminate contained in the head of a small copper cap that was fitted upon the nipple shown at the breech of the gun.

Plate XII is really a continuation of Plate XI, showing

a cap-lock pocket-pistol and a cap-lock blunderbuss, the latter from the Borrowdale Collection and an exceptionally fine specimen of gunsmithing. The dotted line along the forestock gives a rough idea of the lower line of the barrel.

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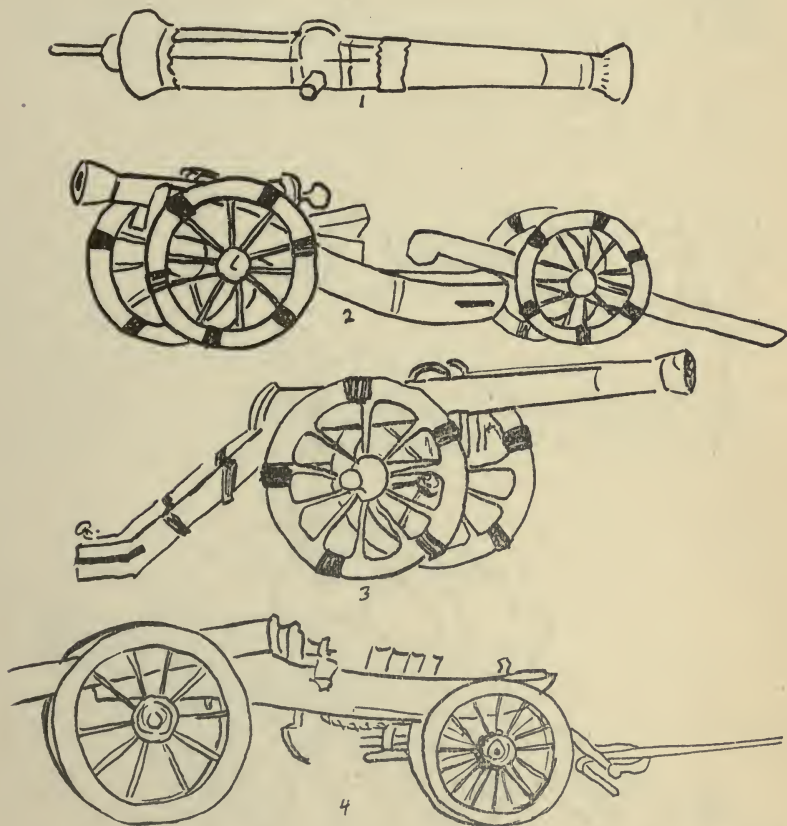
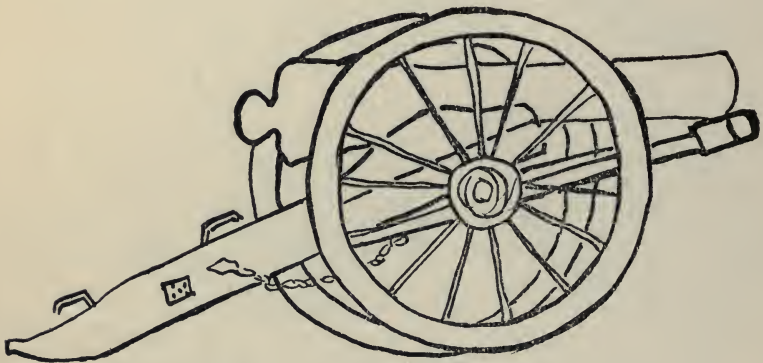
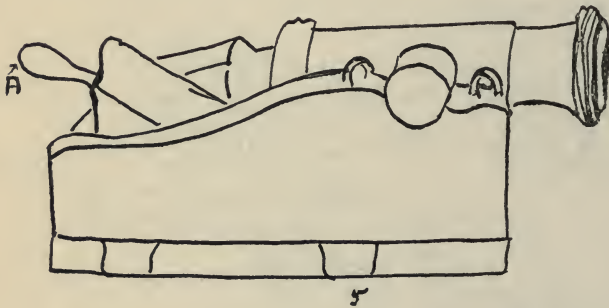


Plate XIII shows four examples of early cannon, the first being a 16th century piece, unmounted, the second a heavy gun of the same century on a field mount, the third a 17th century piece and the last an 18th century example. All are markedly heavy and clumsy, the chief item of dif-

ference being that the diameter of the bore increases as time goes on.

Plate XIV shows the contrast between the First and Final Periods, each of the pieces shown been classed as "light artillery" in its own century, the one above belonging to the 16th and the lower to the 19th. The first weighed little over two hundred pounds including the carriage and could be carried and operated by a crew of four men. The

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second required a six-horse team and a gun crew of six to eight men, gun and carriage weighing about two thousand

pounds. The early piece had an extreme range of about 500 yards, the latter one of 2,000 with reasonable accuracy. Elevation or depression of the first was obtained by sliding backward or forward the quoin-block indicated by the arrow marked "A". In the second these operations were performed by a screw-mechanism which operated with mathematical precision, besides which the gunner's judgment of sighting was assisted by instruments devised for the purpose.

With the coming of the American, the Spanish influence in the Southwest soon vanishes, so far at least as arms and kindred articles are concerned, and with the American's devices of this nature we are not here concerned, since they have been dealt with elsewhere and by more capable hands. The story of the arms and equipment of the Spaniard, however, is no more than opened by the present discussion, and it is to be hoped that with the searching of more manuscripts and the discovery and recognition of more actual early specimens it may some day appear in the full and detailed fashion to which its importance entitles it.

THE FOUNDING OF NEW MEXICO

Chapter XI

The End of Oñate's Reign

Escobar Goes to Mexico for Aid. With the completion of the expedition to California Oñate's dream of reaching the sea had at last been realized. A fine port at the mouth of the Colorado river had been discovered, and it was "so large," says Father Zárate, "that more than a thousand vessels can anchor in it without hindrance to one another."⁶⁵⁶ Moreover great numbers of peaceful Indians lived in the region traversed. These would provide a splendid field for missionary activity, and this was not unimportant. In sent to report to the viceroy.⁶⁵⁷ But hold! Escobar did not bar, at the request of all the settlers in New Mexico, was sent to report to the vicery.⁶⁵⁷ But hold! Escobar did not go alone. Oñate accompanied him, going as far as San Bartolomé before reporting his presence or purpose to the viceroy.⁶⁵⁸ It was of no avail, however, to seek a personal audience with the king's representative. Montesclaros immediately ordered him back to New Mexico,⁶⁵⁹ and he had to be content with the efforts of others in his behalf.

The Firm Opposition of Montesclaros. If Montesclaros had reported unfavorably on New Mexico when he first studied the condition of the province, the new reports sent by Oñate regarding the sea did nothing but confirm his convictions. He felt that any good which might come from it could only be obtained by large investments which the crown must provide. To any such program his opposition was set.

Further, just before Escobar arrived Montesclaros had

656. Zárate's Relation, in Bolton, *Spanish Exploration*, 277.

657. *Carta á su Magestad el rey del cabildo secular*, June 29, 1605. A. G. I., 59-1-1.

658. *Copia de carta de Don Juan de Oñate al Marqués de Montesclaros*, August 7, 1605. A. G. I., 58-3-9.

659. *Copia de carta del Marqués de Montesclaros . . . á Don Jaun de Oñate*, September 1, 1605. A. G. I., 58-3-9.

been compelled to send two friars, and supplies for three others, to New Mexico under an escort of twenty-four soldiers with half a year's pay. Such reinforcements, he informed the king, would have to be sent continually.⁶⁶⁰ Now came more requests for assistance. If the fortification of the newly discovered port should be attempted that would involve enormous expense. Montesclaros believed that the poverty of the northern country was steadily becoming clearer. Referring to Oñate's recent expedition to California he exclaimed: "Nothing but naked people, false bits of coral, and four pebbles," were found.⁶⁶¹ He therefore recommended that a garrison of only six or eight soldiers should be left to guard the friars, and that a thorough exploration should be made of the gulf to see if any port suitable for the Philippine service might exist. "May your majesty provide what is most suitable. I shall not make another move in this matter without specific orders, for I actually go against my judgment."⁶⁶²

The Council Recalls Oñate.—The opposition of the new viceroy soon had the desired effect on the Council of the Indies. Early in 1606 it reconsidered the affairs relating to New Mexico and what had taken place during the past five years. The Council looked at the question in a very practical manner. In view of the questionable conduct of Oñate, Zaldívar, and a number of captains in various instances, and in view of the poverty of the land and its naked and primitive inhabitants, it recommended that Montesclaros be definitely instructed to discontinue the conquest of New Mexico, to recall Oñate for some good cause, disband his soldiers, and detain him in Mexico, to appoint a reliable and Christian governor in his place who would

660. *Carta del Marqués de Montesclaros á S. M.*, October 28, 1605. A. G. I., 53-3-15. The names of the friars are not given.

661. The four pebbles refer to some colored stones which had been brought back by Oñate's men for examination.

662. *Carta del Marqués de Montesclaros á S. M.*, October 28, 1605. At the same time Don Alonso de Oñate, who was now back in Mexico, appealed to the king for paid soldiers in order that the province be not abandoned. *Carta á S. M., de Don Alonso de Oñate*, October 29, 1605. A. G. I., 59-1-1.

favor the conversion of the natives, and to permit only the friars to make further explorations. Moreover the Council agreed that the *visitador* going to New Spain be empowered to investigate the crimes attributed to Oñate and his various captains.⁶⁶³ It was a sweeping program, marking a complete change in the vacillating policy which had been followed in regard to Oñate since the charges of misconduct had been made against him. The king gave his royal sanction to the new policy.⁶⁶⁴

These recommendations were not promulgated immediately. But on June 17, 1606, a *cédula* was dispatched to Montesclaros, embodying the Council's plans.⁶⁶⁵ At the same time a member of the Council of the Indies, the licentiate Diego Landeras de Velasco, was authorized to investigate thoroughly the crimes said to have been perpetrated by Oñate and others, and to pronounce sentence. Appeal to the Council was to be permitted.⁶⁶⁶

Oñate's Resignation, August 24, 1607. Before these developments were known in New Mexico⁶⁶⁷ a complete change had come over the little settlement. Oñate at length realized that nothing would be gained by remaining, for the meager reinforcements he had received clearly indicated that royal support on a large scale would never be given. For that reason he determined to give up the project and to return to Mexico. On August 24, 1607, his letter of resignation was tendered. Therein he informed the viceroy that "the coming of the missionaries and the *maestre de campo* with so few people caused such dismay among those who were in this *real*" that strenuous efforts were necessary to preserve the settlement. Oñate had not given up hope of the promised aid, in order to take advantage of the

663.- Consulta acerca de lo que ha parecido o acreca de los excesos de Don Juan de Oñate y descubrimiento del Nuevo Mexico, January 19, 1606. A. G. I., 1-1-3/22.

664. Royal decree in response to *ibid.*

665. Real *cédula* al Marqués de Montesclaros, June 17, 1606. Hackett, *Hist. Docs.*, 413-415.

666. Real *cédula* al licenciado Diego Landeras, June 17, 1606. A. G. I., 87-5-1.

667. Such seems to be the case, though there was time enough for the *cédula* to reach New Mexico.

glorious reports from the interior and of which he was sending an account, but the soldiers were so wearied and, "they have lived on hopes so long that they neither do nor can wait any longer." The friars, Oñate reported, did not dare continue baptizing till it was seen what was to be done with the region. He and his relatives had spent over four hundred thousand pesos and were unable to keep up the game any longer. Moreover as it was important that the fruits of the eleven years of labor in extending the king's dominions and converting the natives be not lost, which was after all the principal object, he had determined to resign in order that a man able to carry on his work might be appointed. If this should not be done by the end of June, 1608, and the settlers had required this to be put in writing, he would be obliged to give them permission to leave New Mexico.⁶⁶⁸

The latter had drawn up a similar report. From the time Oñate's army was organized in 1595, they had been subjected to continual expenses. They had suffered the greatest hardships and risks and were ruined in fortune. Hope in the country beyond had not been lost. They still believed that the dominions of his majesty might be greatly extended there. But they had been reduced to a condition of such extreme necessity that it was impossible to remain. The colonists accordingly agreed to Oñate's resignation, and requested the king that a man of means be appointed in his place, or aid from the royal treasury be extended him. The alternative was the desertion of the settlement by June 30, 1608, "for there will not be anyone able to wait a day longer."⁶⁶⁹

668. *Copia de una carta que el gobernador Don Juan de Oñate scribió al virrey mi señor desde el real de San Graviel del Nuevo Mexico á veinte de Agosto demill y seiscientos y ocho [siete] años.* A . G. I., 58-3-16. Before writing this chapter I had the pleasure of reading Professor Bolton's article, *The Last Years of Oñate's Rule and the Founding of Santa Fé*, MS.

669. *Copia de carta que la justicia y regimiento y demas soldados que asisten en San Graviel del Nuevo Mexico escribieron al virrey mi señor en veinte y quatro de Agosto de 1607 años.* A. G. I.

When these reports were received in Mexico Montescarlos was no longer viceroy. In his place had returned the same Velasco who had initiated the Oñate expedition in 1595.⁶⁷⁰ He now held a *junta* of three members of the audiencia to consider the recent dispatches from New Mexico. The decision of this conference was to accept Oñate's resignation, as that was in accordance with previous orders to Montescarlos.⁶⁷¹ But Oñate was cautioned not to leave without further orders, which should be in his hands before the end of December, 1609, at the latest. To depart earlier would make him liable for desertion.⁶⁷² The reason for detaining him a while longer was that the king had to be consulted on some doubtful points. The *junta* further recommended that eight soldiers, paid by the crown, be sent to New Mexico with these messages, and that Father Ximénez, who had recently returned from New Mexico, be authorized to go with them. This party was also to bring some provisions for the colony till its fate was definitely decided.⁶⁷³

Juan Martínez de Montoya Replaces Oñate. It was now necessary to choose some one to act as governor of New Mexico. There was no rush of wealthy applicants as there had been in 1595, and Velasco chose one of Oñate's captains, Juan Martínez de Montoya, to serve in that capacity as long as it might seem desirable. He was instructed to promote the settlement and assist in the conversion of the natives. Further entradas against hostile Indians were prohibited. Only the missionaries were permitted to venture forth, and this only in case there were sufficient friars

670. Don Luís de Velasco's second term as viceroy of New Spain lasted from 1607 till 1611. Priestley, *The Mexican Nation*, 146.

671. *Auto* of January 18, 1608, in *Título de gobernador de las provincias del Nuevo Mexico en Juan Martínez de Montoya*, February 27, 1608. A. G. I., 58-3-16.

672. *Copia de una provisión real por la qual se manda á Don Juan de Oñate no salga de las provincias de la Nueva Mexico por el tiempo que en ella se contiene sin horden de su Magestad*, February 27, 1608. A. G. I., 58-3-16.

673. *Auto* of January 18, 1608, in *Título de gobernador . . . en Juan Martínez de Montoya*, February 27, 1608. A little later food, cattle, and clothes were sent to New Mexico. See *Carta de Don Luís de Velasco á S. M.*, June 20, 1608. A. G. I., 58-3-16.

to minister to the natives who were peaceful and obedient. With Oñate the new governor was to remain on good terms, seek his experienced advice, and "honor and respect him in view of his quality and age."⁶⁷⁴

The above order was evidently opposed by Father Ximénez because of the prohibition on further entradas. He informed the viceroy that the Spaniards and Christian Indians were regularly harassed by the Apaches, who destroyed and burned the pueblos, waylaid and killed the natives, and stole the horses of the Spaniards. In order to continue the conversion and uphold the reputation of the Spanish arms it was necessary that permission be given to quell such disturbances. To meet this need Velasco revoked that part of his order which made a resort to arms unlawful, and granted the desired privilege.⁶⁷⁵

New Mexico in the Balance. It was a serious question in 1608, whether New Mexico should be retained as part of the Spanish Empire, or whether it should be given up as an extravagant and unprofitable possession. On March 7, 1608, Velasco had made a detailed report to the crown on the state of affairs in New Mexico.⁶⁷⁶ At that time Fray Lázaro Ximénez was in New Spain. He came as the agent of the entire colony at San Gabriel, religious and soldiers alike, and requested, in the name of all, that permission be given to leave the province, or that sufficient succor, both of men and provisions, be supplied for their relief. Father Ximénez was closely questioned by the officials in Mexico and they were impressed by his good bearing. He summed up the reasons for desiring to leave New Mexico, and they were of the following nature. The harvest of souls had been small and was likely to continue thus because of the hostility of the natives. The religious had

674. *Título de gobernador . . . en Juan Martínez de Montoya.*

675. *Mandamiento para que el gobernador de la Nuevo Mexico conforme al numero de gente y armas que obiere en aquel presidio procure que ande squadra que acuda al remedio de los daños que hacer los yndios Apaches de guerra en los amigos y cavallada de Españoles, etc.,* March 6., 1608. A. G. I., 58-3-16.

676. A full summary of it is given in *El Consejo de Indias á S. M.,* July 2, 1608. A. G. I., 1-1-3/22.

shown little disposition to learn the numerous native languages. It was not only difficult, but practically impossible, to bring supplies from Mexico because of the distance and the expense. Soliders would not serve voluntarily in New Mexico, for there was no hope of gain. Consequently it cost between 450 and 500 pesos each to maintain them there. No gold or silver mines had been discovered, it was a barren land altogether.

The Council of the Indies considered the whole project carefully and recommended in effect that New Mexico be abandoned.⁶⁷⁷ There was just one thing which caused some hesitation. Was it right to desert the province without making some provision for the Christian Indians? It seemed unjust to desert them, and to remove them bodily to some other province would cause great hardship and suffering. No final decision was made by the Council, but it recommended that they remain in New Mexico if some missionaries would stay there voluntarily, otherwise the Indians would have to be removed, either of their own will or by force. If they were moved they would be exempt from paying tribute for twenty years. In case these suggestions failed theologians and jurists in Mexico should be consulted as to whether it was better to leave the converts to revert to heathenism, or to remove them by force and save their souls.⁶⁷⁸

The question of removing the converts and abandoning the province took a new turn late in 1608. Father Ximénez, who had gone to San Gabriel that spring, had returned, evidently early in December, bringing enthusiastic reports of the progress made that summer. Instead of four hundred converts there were now said to be seven thousand. He also brought some samples of ore to be tested for their silver content. This news compelled the viceroy to consider the question anew, but he noted that the saving of souls was the biggest return which could be expected

677. *Ibid.* Embodied in a formal cédula on September 13, 1608. A. G. I., 58-3-16.

678. *Ibid.*

from the province for some time. As it was without gold or silver it would therefore have to be supported by the crown, "because no one comes to the Indies to labor and plow, but only to idle and eat."⁶⁷⁹

New Mexico Retained by Spain. This unexpected development caused the king to suspend the orders of July 2 and September 13, 1608, giving up the region, but he warned "that in no case can it be allowed that this entrada be made by the soldiers or as a conquest."⁶⁸⁰ The province was now taken under the patronage of the crown,⁶⁸¹ and Torquemada joyfully wrote: "and thus we understand that the conversion will now be a success, and there was needed an arm as powerful as is that of the King our Lord."⁶⁸²

In accordance with the king's wish not to give up New Mexico Velasco called into conference the licentiates Don Pedro de Ojalora, Diego Nuñez Morquecho, and Doctor Juan Quesada de Figueroa, of the audiencia, to consider the reinforcements which would have to be provided. It was the decision of this group to maintain about fifty *vecinos* in New Mexico. There were then sixty there, it was stated, and thirty of these were to be armed. For the present it was determined to send twelve soldiers on one year's pay to the province and to provide the arms necessary

679. *Don Luis de Velasco á S. M.*, December 17, 1608. A. G. I., 58-3-16. There were others who objected to giving up New Mexico. Fray Francisco de Velasco humbly petitioned the king not to abandon the province, but to erect a custodia there instead, and to reward the inhabitants of the land. His reasons for not abandoning the land were as follows. The fruits of Oñate's eleven years of labor would be lost; the Picuries, Taos, Pecos and Apache Indians were seeking the friendship of the Spaniards; the tribes near the Spaniards considered them self seekers, and if they deserted this would be true; the friars had promised the natives security in their land and homes and religious instruction; there was a great stretch of territory beyond New Mexico which provided unlimited possibilities for missionary work; there was the question of deserting the Christian natives; and finally Velasco said there were over 30,000 natives in more than 100 pueblos who might be reached by the friars. *Memorial de Fray Francisco de Velasco á S. M.*, February 13, 1609. A. G. I., 59-1-5. It was evidently written in Mexico.

680. Royal decree in Viceroy Velasco's report to the king of December 17, 1608. The order was formally dispatched May 16, 1609. *Lo que se respondió al virrey de Nueva España en 16 de Mayo de 609 cerca de las cosas del Nuevo Mexico*. A. G. I., 58-3-16.

681. The royal cédula to that effect was not issued till November 1, 1609. A. G. I., 87-5-2.

682. Torquemada, *Monarquía Indiana*, I, 678.

for ten more. To carry on the work of conversion it was determined to send six missionaries and two lay brothers, with everything necessary for the journey, all at the king's cost.⁶⁸³ With such provision for continuing the work begun in New Mexico by Oñate, Torquemada had cause for jubilation.

Disobedience in San Gabriel. In the meantime the colony at San Gabriel was anxiously awaiting the order to depart. Since Montoya had been named governor, Oñate finally received permission to return to seek compensation for his services,⁶⁸⁴ but the rest of the settlement had to stay.⁶⁸⁵ When the new governor presented his commission in the cabildo, it is interesting to note, he was not permitted to exercise the duties of his office, for reasons which the colonists considered sufficient. They then turned about and elected their former governor, Oñate, but he declined to accept. Following his refusal the colonists in *cabildo abierto*, or town meeting, chose his son,, Don Cristóbal, who acted as governor for a time.

With this arrangement the viceroy and his advisers were not satisfied. Don Cristóbal was too young and inexperienced, "and they say he scarcely knows how to read and write." Nor did he possess the wealth necessary to develop the land. The king was informed that a governor with suitable salary would have to be provided, and the viceroy added that he was searching for a suitable candidate.⁶⁸⁶ These decisions were duly approved by the royal Council. It permitted Velasco to name the governor's sal-

683. *Aucto sobre lo que se ha mandado que lleven al Nueva Mexico los padres Fray Lázaro Ximénez y Fray Ysidro Ordoñez*, January 29, 1609. A. G. I., 58-3-16.

684. *Licencia á Don Juan de Oñate*, January 29, 1609. A. G. I., 58-3-16.

685. When Peralta was going to New Mexico he was instructed to permit no one to leave the province except those absolutely necessary for Oñate's safety on the trip to Mexico. *Lo ultimamente proveydo sobre que se conserbe la población de la Nueva Mexico*, September 28, 1609. A. G. I., 58-3-16.

686. *Don Luis de Velasco á S. M.*, February 13, 1609. A. G. I., 58-3-16. Cf. *Carta á S. M. del fiscal Don Francisco de Leoz* [February 2, 1609]. A. G. I., 58-5-12. The fiscal states that it was the interior rather than the South Sea which Oñate wanted to explore. One of the regions he had heard of was the kingdom of *los aijaoz*.

ary and thanked him "for the zeal with which he manages the things for the service of the Lord and the exaltation of the faith."⁶⁸⁷

Don Pedro Peralta Becomes Governor. Before March 5, 1609, the viceroy chose Don Pedro de Peralta to take Oñate's place in New Mexico.⁶⁸⁸ His appointment marks a new step in the development of the province. The day of the get-rich-quick adelantado was over, and a settled policy of gradual development at royal expense was inaugurated. The viceroy particularly impressed Peralta with the necessity of favoring the conversion of the natives and avoiding expeditions against those Indians that had not yet been pacified. Only the friars were to be permitted to visit such tribes. In the same manner he was urged to found the new capital which had been discussed, in order that the colonists might live with greater security and regularity. Peralta was given a salary of two thousand pesos,⁶⁸⁹ and the sixteen soldiers who were to accompany him were paid four hundred and fifty pesos each. Some of these had been in New Mexico before.⁶⁹⁰

Instructions to Peralta. Peralta was instructed to leave Mexico city in the shortest time possible and to waste no time on the march as it was of great importance that he reach New Mexico quickly.⁶⁹¹ Having arrived in the new land he was to acquaint himself with the conditions there and "before everything else carry out the founding and establishing of the villa contemplated." He was to permit

687. *El Consejo de Indias á S. M.*, September 10, 1609. A. G. I., 1-1-3/22.

688. *Libramiento á 16 soldados para el Nuevo Mexico*, March 5, 1609. A. G. I., 58-3-16.

689. *Provisión para proveer persona en lugar de Don Juan de Oñate*, March 30, 1609. A. G. I., 58-3-16. The reading of the document would indicate that the founding of a new capital had been agitated for some time.

690. On September 28, 1609, the viceroy instructed Peralta to continue his journey. This was in response to reports recently brought from New Mexico by Fray Josepe Tavera, and Ensign Juan de la Torre. Peralta had by that time left Mexico, for there were also reports from him. However, we are not informed as to what place he had reached. *Lo ultimamente proveydo sobre que se conserbe la población de la Nueva Mexico*, September 28, 1609.

691. *Instrucción á Don Pedro de Peralta gobernador y capitan-general de la Nueva Mexico en lugar de Don Juan de Oñate*, March 30, 1609.

the inhabitants to elect four *regidores*, and they in turn were to choose two *alcaldes ordinarios* annually. A plaza was to be selected, where the public buildings would be erected, and further specific orders outlining the organization of the new city were detailed. The Indians might be given in encomienda, though those given by Oñate were not to be molested. Moderation was urged in collecting tribute, and efforts should be made to teach the Indians the Spanish language in order to overcome the difficulty of the many native tongues.⁶⁹²

The Founding of Santa Fé, 1609. The villa founded was Santa Fé. It is unnecessary to recall the efforts of numerous writers to place the founding of Santa Fé around the year 1605⁶⁹³. It was not established until 1609, that is certain. The documents used in this chapter cover every year to that time and there is no reference to any city in New Mexico except the capital at San Gabriel. Just when the capital was transferred to the new site at Santa Fé we do not know. Peralta's instructions in regard to establishing the new villa were very definite, and he probably effected the transfer at once. That is as much as we are able to say with the documentary evidence available.⁶⁹⁴

A Decade of Gradual Progress. Not much is known of New Mexico during the decade following the founding

692. *Ibid.*

693. Professor Bolton has such a summary in his paper, *The Last Years of Oñate's Rule and the Founding of Santa Fé*, MS. Bancroft, in 1889, could only state that Santa Fé was founded between 1605 and 1616. *Arizona and New Mexico*, 158. Bandelier, in 1890, was convinced of the date 1605. *Final Report*, I, 124 note 1. He later changed his opinion and in 1893 thought it might have been founded in 1608. *The Gilded Man*, 286-287. Twitchell, in 1911, clung to the date 1605. *Leading Facts of New Mexican History*, I, 332. Prince and Read, in 1912, accepted the same conclusion. Prince, *A Concise History of New Mexico*, 104. Read, *Illustrated History of New Mexico*, 246. Those who have accepted 1605 as the correct date have relied on a statement of Father Posadas who wrote eighty years after the event took place. Bloom, in 1913, first advanced the date 1609, which was accepted by Twitchell in his last book, *The Story of Old Santa Fe* (1925). An interesting discussion of the point is found in the quarterly *Old Santa Fe*, vol. I, 9; 226-227; 336-337. See also Vaughan, *History and Government of New Mexico*, 52-53; and Bolton, *Spanish Borderlands*, 177.

694. The writer among others has diligently searched the Spanish archives for some information to clinch the matter, but without success.

of Santa Fé. The only references to the province in the documents available concern the appointment of new governors and the question of expenses. Moreover these notes are very meager and disappointing in content when we recall the tendency of Spanish officials toward voluminous correspondence and interminable discussion. In 1620 the king instructed the Marquis of Guadalcázar, who was viceroy from 1612-1621, to cut down expenses wherever possible, and New Mexico felt the effect of that order. The king required that the expenses of the Franciscans in New Mexico be reduced to the same amount as their brethren in Sinalosa received. Matters were adjusted when the provincial of the Franciscans agreed to cooperate, and the viceroy reported that arrangement to the king.⁶⁹⁵

Some progress continued to be made in spite of the obstacles encountered. By 1617 eleven churches had been built and there were fourteen thousand converts in the province. In this period also a controversy developed between the royal officials and the ecclesiastical authorities, "the custodio assuming the right to issue excommunication against the governor, the latter claiming authority to appoint petty Indian officials at the missions and both being charge with oppressive exactions of labor and tribute from the natives." The matter was brought to the attention of the audiencia and both parties were rebuked.⁶⁹⁶

In February, 1621, Guadalcázar sent a lengthy report to Governor Eulate in regard to these matters. Both the custodian and the governor were exhorted to stay within their proper and legal bound in spiritual and temporal affairs. When the elections were held in the pueblos both sets of officials were to stay away. The governor was required not to meddle in matters pertaining to the friars. He was to courtesy in case any of the religious preached in his presence. No new tributes were to be levied without the viceroy's approval, and for the time being Zuñi and

695. *El Marqués de Guadalcázar á S. M.*, February 19, 1620. A. G. I., 58-3-18. The viceroy stated that the cost of each reinforcement sent was about 38,000 pesos.

696. Bancroft, *Arizona and New Mexico*, 159. This was January 9, 1621.

Moqui were entirely exempted from paying any. He was to see that friars were sent to the churches on Sundays and holidays to say mass. The Indians were not to be treated harshly. Military escorts were to be provided the friars whenever they deemed it necessary, either in visiting the pueblos or in going to Mexico. The cattle must be kept out of the corn fields of the Indians. And a proposal to move the capital at Santa Fé to some other point was prohibited without further orders.⁶⁹⁷

By 1620 the region had been erected into a custodia, and seventeen thousand Indians had received baptism. The work was carried on by sixteen missionaries supported by the crown. There was a monastery in Santa Fé, and smaller ones in the pueblos.⁶⁹⁸ By 1622 the number of frairs had been increased to twenty-four, six of whom were lay brothers⁶⁹⁹.

Aside from the missionary activity described nothing occurred in New Mexico to attract the attention of Spanish settlers. The rumors of mines continued to be circulated, but the viceroy reported that they had not yet been verified with any certainty. Santa Fé remained the only Spanish settlement, and it contained only fifty *vecinos*. New governors were appointed by the viceroy every four years. Guadalcázar felt that they ought to serve that long because the trip from Mexico was too costly to be repeated oftener. On August 5, 1613, *el almirante* Bernardino de Zavallós, was named to succeed Peralta as governor, and in 1617 his place was taken by Don Juan de Eulate, who ruled till 1621.⁷⁰⁰

697. *El Marqués de Guadalcázar á Don Juan de Eulate*, February 5, 1621. A. G. I., 58-3-18.

698. *Guadalcázar á S. M.*, May 27, 1620. A. G. I., 58-3-18. "Los quales tienen un convento en la villa de Santa Fee, y otros mas pequeños en los dichos pueblos de yndios, para que se provee todo lo necessario, y el gobierno de los religiosos está reducido á una custodia." Bancroft, Bolton, and others state that the custodia of San Pablo was established in 1621.

699. *Memoria de las doctrinas que ay en esta provincia del santo evangelio*, July 21, 1622. A. G. I., 96-4-2.

700. *Guadalcázar á S. M.*, May 27, 1620. A. G. I., 58-3-18. The date of the nomination of Zavallós is given in a report by Martín López de Gauna, May 20, 1619. A. G. I., 58-3-18. Bancroft, following Simpson, says the governor passed El Morro

The Punishment and Exile of Oñate. After Peralta's appointment as governor in 1609, Oñate probably did not remain long in New Mexico. In fact an order had been issued by the viceroy requiring him to depart within three months of Peralta's arrival. What befell him in Mexico during the next few years can only be imagined, but it is clear that his *residencia* was finally carried out. In 1607 Landeras de Velasco had been authorized to investigate the charges against him, but he was soon excused from carrying out the task. By a royal *cédula* of December 9, 1608, the same order was then given to the licentiate Don Juan de Villera, but as the visitation could not be held till Oñate had returned nothing was done, and the business was turned over to the archbishop Fray Diego Guerra. Before February, 1612,⁷⁰¹ the latter commissioned Don Francisco de Leoz, the *alcalde* of the *audiencia*, to continue and terminate the case, and he accordingly began to make the necessary investigations. But it was a very difficult matter. "because the guilty are among the most powerful and most widely related by marriage in this kingdom." For that reason, evidently, Don Francisco de Leoz was relieved of his burden, and Viceroy Guadalcázar, on June 1, 1613, was instructed to finish the business.⁷⁰²

The Marquis of Guadalcázar had been appointed viceroy in 1612, and soon fulfilled the king's order in regard to Oñate's case. Don Antonio Morga, one of the members of the *audiencia* whom Montesclaros had recommended for the position, was appointed legal adviser, and soon the investigation of the charges against Oñate as well as those against his accomplices, was completed.

Thirty complaints were made against the former governor of New Mexico, and on twelve of these counts he was

on July 29, 1620, and gives the names of some who inscribed their names on the rock. Bancroft, *Arizona and New Mexico*, 159. Eulate was governor till 1621, but his name is not among them.

701. Archbishop Guerra died in February of that year. Priestley, *The Mexican Nation*, 146.

702. *Real cédula al Marqués de Guadalcázar*, June 1, 1613. A. G. I., A. G. I., 87-5-2.

held guilty. He was accused of giving glowing accounts of the land when it was really poor; he had prevented the auditor-general Gines de Herrera Orta and others from exercising their offices granted by the viceroy; he had called Monterey his deadly enemy and spoken ill of him; Salazar had been caricatured by the mulattos with the expedition while it was at the San Pedro river; robberies had been committed by the soldiers in the army between Zacatecas and Santa Bárbara; Peñalosa had been held prisoner till he would say that the deserting colonists had forced him to permit their departure; Oñate had lived shamefully with women in the colony; he was responsible for the death of the soldiers hanged by Villagr  and M rquez near Santa B rbara; for the death of Captains Pablo de Ag ilar and Alonso de Sosa; for the hanging of two Indians at  coma without cause; and for the indiscriminate slaughter of innocent and guilty alike when  coma was destroyed by Zald var.

For these crimes O ate was condemned to perpetual banishment from New Mexico, to exile for four year from the city of Mexico and its vicinity for five leagues around, to pay a fine of six thousand Castilian ducats and the costs of the case.⁷⁰³

The Conviction of O ate's Accomplices. Vicente de Zald var was convicted of the death of Captain Sosa; of whipping three soldiers rigorously in his house; of the death of Andr s Mart n near San Bartolom ; of undue severity against the  coma Indians; and some other charges. He was condemned to banishment from New Mexico for eight years, from Mexico City and vicinity for two years, to pay a fine of two thousand ducats and the costs of the case.⁷⁰⁴

Villagr , the poet and historian of the expedition to New Mexico, was also among the guilty. He was accused of complicity in the death of Manuel Portugu s and Juan

703. *Sentencia contra el adelantado Don Juan de O ate*, in *Testimonio de las sentencias*, May 16, 1614. A. G. I., 58-3-17.

704. *Sentencia contra el maestre de campo Vicente de Zald var Mendoza* in * bid.*

Gonzáles near Santa Bárbara, who had fled from Oñate's army, and of writing beautiful but untrue accounts of the land just conquered. He had to suffer exile from New Mexico for six years, banishment from Mexico City and vicinity for two years and pay the expenses of the trial.⁷⁰⁵

Captain Gerónimo Márquez was involved in the death of Manuel Portugués and Juan Gonzáles, and of killing three others and some Indians before reaching New Mexico. He was sentenced to perpetual exile from New Mexico, to exile from New Spain for ten years, and to pay a fine of five hundred ducats. In addition he was to be imprisoned till the fine was paid.⁷⁰⁶

Four other captains were convicted for being implicated in the deaths of Captains Aguilar and Sosa. They were: Alonso Nuñez de Ynojosa, Juan de Salas, Alonso Gómez and Dionisio (or Domingo) Bañuelos, and were sentenced to perpetual banishment from New Mexico, to exile from Mexico City and vicinity for four years, with the exception of Bañuelos whose sentence was only two years, and to pay a fine of five hundred ducats each.⁷⁰⁷

There were three others, Francisco Vido, a mestizo, Agustín, an Indian, and Luís Bautista, a negro, who were also convicted of aiding in the murder of Captains Aguilar and Sosa. They were sentenced to exile from both New Mexico and New Spain and to two hundred lashes in the streets. Agustín escaped with one hundred.⁷⁰⁸ In that manner the arm of the law was extended to distant New Mexico and the wrongs committed there during Oñate's rule rectified.

Oñate's Reinstatement. In 1622, after Guadalcázar's long viceregal rule of nine years was over, Oñate sought to be exonerated of the judgment rendered against him. The audiencias of Mexico and Guadalajara submitted records of the services of the Oñate family for the king, in his be-

705. Villagrà's sentence, in *ibid.*

706. *Sentencia contra el capitan Gerónimo Márquez*, in *ibid.*

707. See the sentences against each of these captains, in *ibid.*

708. See the sentences against each one, in *ibid.*

half. He had already paid the fine and had not violated the sentence, and the Council of the Indies recommended that the judgment be removed. But the king was opposed and withheld his sanction.⁷⁰⁹ Three months later the Council again brought the subject to the king's attention, only to be turned aside once more.⁷¹⁰ Oñate did not give up, however, and made new appeals to the Council. But though it favored leniency the king's opposition was not overcome.⁷¹¹

This is all the evidence available regarding Oñate's pardon, but there is some reason for believing that it was granted before 1624. At that time he was entrusted with the visitation of mines in Spain. In view of such official favor it might be inferred that the king had pardoned his former adelantado of New Mexico, the title which he still bore at that time.⁷¹² But the evidence is circumstantial and not conclusive.

709. *Consulta en el Consejo de Indias*, and royal decree, April 6, 1622. A. G. I., 66-5-10.

710. *Consulta en el Consejo de Indias*, and royal decree, July 2, 1622. A. G. I., 66-5-10.

711. *Consulta del Consejo de Indias*, and royal decree, November 25, 1622 A. G. I., 66-5-10.

712. Royal decree, June 18, 1624. A. G. I., 58-3-2. In May, 1624, Oñate sought compensation for his services. He desired membership in one of the military orders and a governmental position in Mexico, Guadalajara, or the Philippines. For that reason he had come to Spain to press his cause, but evidently nothing was done at that time in regard to these matters. *Consulta del Consejo de Indias*, May 10, 1624. A. G. I., 1-1-3/22.

APPENDIX A.

Official List of the Soldiers who Accompanied
Oñate to New Mexico in 1598, in Alphabetic Order.

At the mines of Todos Santos, on January 8, 1598, and within the church of said pueblo, Señor Juan de Frias Salazar commissary-general and visitor-general of the people on the expedition to New Mexico for the king our lord and his lieutenant captain-general took the muster-roll and made a list of the people that Don Juan de Oñate, governor and captain-general of the said expedition, brought forward and said he had for that purpose in the following manner.*

(Aguilar) Captain Pablo de Aguilar Hinojosa, 36 years old, son of Juan de Hinojosa Valderrama, native of Ecija, of good stature, chestnut colored beard, with his arms and another complete outfit which he gave to a soldier.

Pedro Sánchez de Amiuro, 21 years old, son of Pedro Sánchez de Amiuro, native of Ribadeo, of good stature beard growing, a wound above the left eye, with his arms. He said he was a native of Sombrerete.

Luís de Araujo, 30 years old, son of Juan López de Araujo, native of the city of Orense in Castile, of good stature, chestnut colored beard, with his arms.

Asensio de Arachuleta, 26 years old, son of Juanes de

* In this list are the names of 129 men, 130 including Juan de Oñate the governor. Peculiarly enough no description is given of the chief leader of the enterprise. The number of soldiers thus agrees with the "Memorial." See note 332. The name of Oñate's son, Cristóbal, nowhere appears in the official records, though Villagrà and others note his presence.

It is possible that this official list is not actually complete, for occasionally we find the names of soldiers in New Mexico who do not appear in any of the official records. Some of these instances have been indicated in the notes. There is no record of the women and children who accompanied the men on this expedition. The document from which this list was taken is in A. G. I., 58-3-14.

Arachuleta, native of Ybar, of medium stature, black bearded, a slight wound in the forehead, with his arms.

Diego de Ayardi, son of Bartolomé de Ayardi, native of Guadalajara in this New Spain, tall of stature, chestnut colored beard, pock-marked, one injured finger on the left hand, without arms or harquebus. The outfit he had the governor had given him, he said.

Juan del Cazo Baraona, native of Mexico, son of Sancho de Baraona, 50 years of age, graybearded, appeared with his arms and the other things he had declared, except an harquebus.

Juan Gonzáles de Bargas, son of Francisco Martínez, native of Carmona, of medium stature, scant beard, one tooth missing, 22 years of age, with all his arms and also a short jacket.

Alvaro de Barrios, son of Luis Gonzáles, native of Coimbra, of good stature, chestnut colored beard, with a scar on the right side, 26 years of age, with a complete set of arms which he said the governor had given him.

Diego Blandin, son of Diego Gonzáles, native of Coimbra, of good stature, grayish, over 40 years of age, with a knee length coat of mail from the governor and an harquebus and sword of his own.

Captain Juan Gutierrez Bocanegra, son of Alonso de Cuenca, native of Villanueva de los Infantes, tall, blackbearded, with a blow from a stone above the left eye, 44 years of age, with his arms and extra harquebus. The other things he gave to a soldier.

Captain Joseph de Brondate, son of Clemente Gregorio Brondate, native of Aragón, of medium stature, chestnut colored beard, over 25 years of age, with his arms including an engraved and gilded coat of armor.

Juan Pérez de Bustillo, 40 years of age, son of Simón Pérez, native of Mexico, of small stature, swarthy, graybearded, a wart on the left side, with his arms.

Simón de Bustillo, 22 years of age, son of Juan Pérez

de Bustillo, native of Mexico, swarthy, little beard, freckly faced, of medium stature, appeared with his arms. He said the governor had given him his outfit.

Juan Velázquez de Cavanillas, son of Cristóbal de Hidalgo de Cavanillas, native of Zalamea de la Serena, of small stature, chestnut colored beard, 24 years old, went with arms, except cuishes, which he said the governor and *maese de campo* had given him.

Francisco Cadino, 36 years old, son of Pedro Cadino, native of the town of Sailices de los Gallegos, of good stature, blackbearded, freckly faced, [something omitted in original] although he brought them [arms?] he said the governor had given them to him.

Pedro López Calvo, son of Alvaro López Calvo, native of Molina Seca, of medium stature, a large wound in his forehead, 20 years of age, with all his necessary arms.

Juan Camacho, native of Trigueros, son of Anton Sánchez, a man of good stature, graybearded, 50 years of age, appeared with his arms and an extra coat of mail and a small lance.

Juan López del Canto, 25 years old, son of Pedro López del Canto, native of Mexico, of good stature, blackbearded, a cross in his forehead, without arms except for a suit consisting of coat of mail, cuish and beaver which he said the governor had given him.

Ensign Juan de Victoria Carbajal, son of Juan de Carbajal, native of the town of Ayotepel in the Marquisate of the Valley, of medium stature, chestnut colored beard, 37 years of age, with his arms.

Martín Carrasco, native of Zacatecas, son of Martín Carrasco, of medium stature, bright reddish beard, 30 years of age, appeared with his arms.

Gonzalo de la Carrera, son of Lope de la Carrera, native of Alcaldá de Henares, of medium stature, chestnut colored beard, 25 years of age, with all his arms.

Bernabé de las Casas, native of the Isle of Teneriffe, tall of stature, son of Miguel de las Casas, blackbearded, 25 years of age, appeared with his arms complete.

Diego de Castañeda, son of Juan de Castañeda, native of Seville, tall of stature, beardless, changeable eyes, 19 years of age, with all his arms which he said the governor had given him.

Francisco Martínez de Castañeda, son of Bartolomé Martínez, native of Berganza, of medium stature, beardless, 18 years old, with all his arms which he said the governor had given him.

Miguel Montero de Castro, son of Agustín Montero de Castro, native of the city of Mexico, of good stature, red-bearded, reddish eyes, 25 years of age, with all his arms.

Juan Catalán, 32 years old native of Barcelona, son of Antonio de la Cruz, bright reddish beard, wounded in the right arm, appeared with his arms.

Captain Gregorio César, native of the city of Cádiz, son of César Cesaar (sic) 40 years of age, of good stature, chestnut colored beard, appeared with his arms and a set of arms which he had declared before today. He said he had given it to a soldier who had no arms.

Ensign Diego Nuñez de Chaves, 30 years old, son of Juan de Chaves, native of Guadalcanal, of good stature, chestnut colored beard, some of his upper teeth broken, with his arms.

Juan Velarde Colodio, son of Juan Velarde Colodio, native of Madrid, of medium stature, chestnut colored beard, 28 years of age, with all his arms.

Antonio Conde, son of Antonio Conde de Herrera, native of Xerez de la Frontera, tall of stature, beardless, 18 years of age, with all his arms which he said the governor had given him.

Francisco Hernández Cordero, 22 years of age, native of Guadalajara in New Galicia, son of Rodrigo Fernández Cordero, of good stature, beardless, with his arms. The beaver was given him by the governor, he said.

Marcos Cortés, son of Juan Martínez, native of Zalamea de la Serena, of good stature, chestnut colored beard, with a wart on his right cheek, 30 years old, with all his arms.

Juan de la Cruz, son of Juan Rodríguez, native of the Valle de Toluca, partly swarthy, beardless, tall of stature, 19 years of age, with his arms and an extra shield which he said the governor had given him.

Manuel Díaz, 20 years old, son of Manuel Díaz, native of Talavera, beardless, of good stature, fat, with his arms except cuishes.

Juan Pérez de Donis, *secretario de gobernacion*, 58 years old, native of Cangas de Onis in Asturias, son of Francisco Pérez Carreno, of medium stature, graybearded, with a wound in his forehead.

Captain Felipe de Escalante, 47 years of age, son of Juan de Escalante Castilla, native of Laredo, of small stature, short and fat, swarthy, grayish, with his arms and other things he had declared.

Don Juan Escarramad, son of Don Juan Escarramad, native of the city of Murcia, small of stature, changeable eyes, chestnut colored beard, 26 years of age, with his arms.

Captain Marcello de Espinosa, 21 years old, native of Madrid, son of Antonio de Espinosa, of good stature, chestnut colored beard, appeared with his arms. The other things which he had declared he had gambled away, he said.

Captain Marcos Farfán de los Godos, 40 years of age, son of Gines Farfán de los Godos, native of Seville, of good stature, chestnut colored beard, appeared with his arms, and the other things which he declared he said had been given to his soldiers.

Manuel Francisco, 30 years old, son of Francisco Pérez, native of Portugal, of good stature, chestnut colored beard, and one finger of his left hand half withered, with his arms.

Francisco García, native of the city of Mexico, son of

Martín García, of good stature, redbearded, 35 years old, appeared with his arms.

Marcos García, 38 years old, son of Tomé García, native of San Lucar de Barrameda, of good stature, grayish, swarthy, with his arms.

Hernán Martín Gómez, son of Hernán Martín Gómez, native of Valverde de Reina, tall of stature, very grayish, with his arms except cuishes.

Enisgn Bartolomé González, son of Juan González, native of the Corral de Alamguer, of medium stature, chestnut colored beard, 29 years of age, with his arms and what else he had declared.

Juan Griego, 32 years of age, son of Lazaro Griego, native of Greece in Negropote, of good stature, graybeard, a big wound in the forehead, with his arms.

Cristóbal Guillen, son of Diego Guillen, native of Mexico, of medium stature, beardless, 20 years of age, with his arms which he said the governor had given him.

Francisco Hernández Guillen, native of Seville, son of Hernán Pérez, of good stature, redbearded, grayish, with a mark on the right side, 50 years of age, appeared with his arms except cuishes.

Gerónimo de Heredia, 38 years old, son of Diego Hernández de Heredia, sargeant of Captain Márquez' company, native of Córdoba, of medium stature, reddish beard, a mark above his left eye-brow, with his arms.

Antonio Hernández, 33 years of age, son of Francisco Simón, native of Braga, tall of stature, chestnut colored beard, an injury on two fingers of the right hand, with his arms.

Gonzalo Hernández, son of Pedro Alonso Falcón, native of Coimbra, of good stature, gray-haired, 50 years of age, with all his arms and an extra harquebus and some cuishes.

Bartolomé de Herrera, son of Miguel de Herrera, native of Seville, of medium stature, beard growing, 20 years

of age, with all his arms which he said the governor had given him.

Cristóbal de Herrera, son of Juan de Herrera, native of Xerez de la Frontera, tall of stature, swarthy, smooth-chinned, 19 years of age, with all his arms, which he said the governor had given him.

Ensign Alonso Nuñez de Hinojosa, son of Alonso de Santiago, native of the city of Plasencia, redbearded, of good stature, with all his arms which he said the governor had given him.

Ensign Domingo de Lezama, 27 years of age, son of Juan de Obregón, native of Bilbao, tall, redbeared, a wound on the nose, with his arms.

Francisco de Ledesma, native of Talavera de la Reina, son of Juan Fernández de Ledesma, of medium stature, black bearded, 25 years of age, appeared with his arms and an extra coat of mail.

Juan de León, native of Cádiz, son of Antonio de León, says he is a native of Malaga, of good stature, redbearded, a wart on the right cheek, 30 years of age, appeared with his arms.

Cristóbal López, 40 years old, son of Diego López de Avilés, native of Avilés, of good stature, corpulent, swarthy, blackbearded, a gash above the left eye, with his arms complete. He said he was a mulatto.

Juan Lucas, 18 years old, son of Juan Lucas, native of Puebla, freckled, of good stature, beardless, with his arms. He said the governor had given him the harquebus.

Francisco Martín, native of Ayamonte, son of Bonifacio Gómez, of good stature, aged graybearded, hairy, 60 years of age, appeared with his arms except harquebus which he said he did not have.

Hernán Martín, 40 years old, son of Hernán Martín Serrano, native of Zacatecas, tall of stature, little beard, pockmarked, with his arms.

Hernán Martín son of Hernán Martín Gómez, native of Verlanga, of medium stature, beardless, 20 years of age, with his arms. He said the governor gave him the coat of mail and harquebus.

Alonso Martínez, native of Higuera de Bargas, son of Benito Díaz, of medium stature, blackbearded, scant beard, 46 years of age, appeared with his arms.

Juan Medel, native of Ayamonte, son of Fernan Medel, graybearded, small of stature, 43 years of age, appeared with his arms.

Captain Alonso Gómez Montesinos, 38 years old, native of the town of Villanueva de los Infantes, son of Gonzalo Gómez, of good stature, chestnut colored beard, appeared with his arms.

Baltasar de Monzón, 20 years old, son of Baltassar de Monzón, native of Mexico, of good stature, the beard growing, with his arms which he said the *alguacil real* had given him.

Juan Moran, son of Juan Moran, native of Mora de Toro, tall of stature, chestnut colored, thin, 27 years of age, with his arms except harquebus which he said Captain Bocanegra had given him.

Lorenzo de Munuera, 28 years old, native of Villa Carrillo, son of Gil de Munuera, of good stature, chestnut colored beard, with his arms and an extra coat of mail.

Alonso Naranjo, 42 years old, son of Diego Carrasco, native of Valladolid in Castile, of good stature, tawny beard, a wound in the face, with his arms.

Francisco de Olague, son of Miguel de Olague, native of Panico, with a mark above the left eye, beardless, of medium stature, 17 years of age, with his arms which he said the governor had given him.

Juan de Olague, son of Miguel de Olague, native of Panico, of good stature and figure, beard growing, 19 years of age, with his arms which he said the governor had given him.

Juan de Pedraza, 30 years old, son of Alonso González, native of Cartaya, swarthy, tall, blackbearded, a big wound above the left eye, with his arms.

Captain Alonso de Sosa Peñalosa, 48 years of age, native of Mexico, son of Francisco de Sosa Alborno, grayish, swarthy, appeared with his arms. The rest which he had declared he had given to a soldier, he said.

The royal ensign Francisco de Sosa Peñalosa, 60 years old, of medium stature, graybearded, son of Francisco de Peñalosa, native of Avila, appeared with his arms and a strong leather jacket. He said his sons were bringing the other things which he had declared.

Andrés Pérez, 30 years old, son of Andrés de Cavo, native of Tordesillas, of medium stature, chestnut colored beard, fat, with his arms and the other things he had declared.

Juan Pineiro, ensign, son of Manuel Pineiro, native of the town of Fregenal, of medium stature, chestnut colored beard, 30 years old, with all his arms.

Alonso de Quesada, captain of a company, son of Don Pedro de Quesada, native of Mexico, redbearded 32 years of age, with his arms and an extra coat of mail. The rest which he had declared he had given to a soldier, he said.

Francisco Ramirez, native of Cartaya, son of Gómez de Salazar, small of stature, redbearded, blind on the left eye, 24 years of age, appeared with his arms.

Martín Ramirez, 33 years of age, native of Lepe, son of Juan Leal, a man of good stature, chestnut colored beard, without arms, because those which he might bring the governor was to provide.

Juan Ortiz Requelmo, 28 years old, son of Juan López Ortega, native of Seville, of short stature, chestnut colored beard, a wound above the left eye, with his arms.

Pedro de los Reyes, 18 years old, son of Sebastian de los Reyes, native of Mexico, beardless, tall, pockmarked,

with his arms given him by Captain Aguilar except sword which he did not have.

Lorenzo Salado de Rivedeneira, native of Valladolid in Castile, of medium stature, redbearded, 23 years of age, with his arms.

Pedro de Ribas, son of Juan de Ribas, native of Puebla de los Angeles, of good stature, beardless, 20 years old, with all his arms which he said the governor had given him, except sword which he did not carry.

Pedro de Rivera, son of Francisco Miguel de Rivera, native of Zacatecas, of medium stature, scant blackish beard, 19 years of age, with all his arms.

Alonso del Rio, 28 years old, son of Estevan Arias, native of Puerto Real, of good stature, bright reddish beard, with his arms and one cuish which he said the governor had given him.

Ensign Pedro Robledo. 60 years old, native of Maqueda, son of Alejo Robledo, of good stature, entirely gray-haired, with his arms.

Diego Robledo, 27 years old, native of Maqueda, son of said Pedro Robledo of above, of good stature, redbearded, with his arms.

Alonso Robledo, 21 years of age, son of Pedro Robledo, native of Cimapan in New Spain, of good stature, redbearded, with his arms.

Pedro Robledo, 20 years old, son of Pedro Robledo, native of Temazcaltepeque, of good stature, scant beard, appeared with his arms.

Francisco Robledo, 18 years old, son of Pedro Robledo, native of Valladolid in New Spain, smooth-chinned, appeared with his arms except cuishes, powder-flask and small flask.

Antonio Rodríguez, son of Silvestre Juan (sic), native of Canas de Señorío in Lisbon, of medium stature, chest-

nut colored beard, 28 years of age, with all his arms which he said the governor had given him.

Juan Rodríguez 40 years of age, native of the city of Oporto, sn of Gonzalo González, of medium stature, grayish hair.

Juan Rodríguez, son of Gerónimo Sánchez, native of Sombrerete, tall of stature, chestnut colored beard, 23 years old, with all his arms.

Sebastian Rodríguez, son of Juan Ruiz, native of Cartaya, of good stature, redbearded, long mustache, 30 years old, with his arms.

Ensign Bartolomé Romero, 35 years old, son of Bartolomé Romero, native of Corral de Alamguer, of good stature, swarthy, blackbearded, with his arms.

Captain Juan Moreno de la Rua, 44 years old, son of Hernando Moreno de la Rua, native of Salamanca, of medium stature, fat, reddish beard, with his arms.

Juan de Salas, son of the accountant Alonso Sánchez, beardless, of good stature, 20 years old, with his arms.

The accountant Alonso Sánchez, 50 years of age, native of the town of Niebla in Castile, son of Alonso Márquez, of medium stature, graybearded, appeared with his arms. He said his children were bringing the rest of the things he had declared.

Alonso Sánchez, son of the accountant Alonso Sánchez, native of La Puana, of good stature, beard growing, 22 years old, with all his arms.

Cristóbal Sánchez, son of Gerónimo Sánchez, native of Sombrerete, of medium stature, chestnut colored beard, with a mark on his nose near the eye-brows, 27 years of age, with his arms.

Francisco Sánchez, 30 years of age, soldier of the said Captain Alonso Gómez, native of Cartaya, son of Diego de Sánchez, of good stature, blackbearded.

Francisco Sánchez, son of Gerónimo Sánchez, native of Sombrerete, of good stature, beard growing—chestnut colored, 24 years of age, with his arms.

Matia Sánchez, son of Gerónimo Sánchez, native of Sombrerete, of good stature, beardless, 15 years of age, with all his arms which he said the governor had given him.

Pedro Sánchez, 50 years old, native of Mexico, son of Hernán Martín de Monrroy, of good stature, graybearded, appeared with his arms and the rest he had declared.

Pedro de San Martín, son of Antonio de San Martín, native of Zacatecas, of good stature, swarthy, blackbearded, pockmarked, 25 years of age, without arms except for those he brought, which included coat of mail, beaver, harquebus and powder flask. He said the governor had given them to him.

Antonio de Sariñana, son of Pedro Sánchez de Amiciro, native of Galicia, small of stature, scant beard, 19 years old, with his arms. The governor gave him the coat of mail and beaver.

Hernando de Segura, 27 years of age, son of Francisco Díaz de Villalobos, native of Condado de San Juan del Puerto, of good stature, chestnut colored beard, with his arms except cuishes and powder-flasks.

Sebastian Serrano, 28 years old, native of Mexico, son of Juan Alonso, with his arms.

Estevan de Sosa, son of Francisco de Sosa Peñalosa, native of Havana, tall of stature, scant beard, 21 years of age, with all his arms, which are the ones his father Francisco de Sosa declared besides his own.

Francisco Yllan de Sosa, son of Francisco de Sosa Peñalosa, native of the Valle de Altillo, beard growing, tall of stature, 23 years of age, with his arms.

Gaspar López de Tabara, son of the *Comendador* Gaspar López de Tabara, native of the city of Lisbon, *alugacil real* of the said expedition, chestnut colored beard, 30 years

old, with all his arms. The rest which he declared he had given to a soldier, he said.

Lucas de Tordesillas, son of Juan de Tordesillas, native of Zacatecas, tall of stature, fat, swarthy, blackbearded, a mark between the eye-brows, 30 years of age, with his arms.

Leonis de Treviño, son of Baltasar de Banuelos, native of Zacatecas, of good stature, scant reddish beard, 26 years of age, with arms, for although he brought them he said the governor had given them to him.

Alonso Varela, native of Santiago de Galicia, of good stature, chestnut colored beard, 30 years old, son of Pedro Varela, appeared with his arms.

Pedro Varela, native of Santiago de Galicia, son of Pedro Varela, 24 years of age, of good stature, redbearded, appeared with his arms.

Francisco Vázquez, native of Cartaya, son of Alonso Alfran, of good stature, redbearded, 28 years of age, appeared with his arms and an extra coat of mail.

The treasurer Don Luís Gasco de Velasco, 28 years old, son of Luís Ximenez Gasco, native of the city of Quenca; of medium stature, redbearded, appeared with his arms.

Rodrigo Velman, son of Francisco Velman, native of Trimonia Framenco, of medium stature, bright reddish beard, 33 years of age, with his arms which he said the governor had given him.

Francisco Vido, son of Gerónimo Vido, native of Mexico, swarthy, beardless, of medium stature, 20 years old, with all his arms, which he said the governor had given him.

Captain Gaspár de Villagrà, son of Hernán Pérez de Villagrà, native of Puebla de Los Angeles, of medium stature, graybearded, 30 years of age, with all his arms.

Francisco de Villalua, son of Juan Miguel Galindo, native of Cádiz, beardless, of good stature, 20 years of age, with his arms, which he said the governor had given him except for the harquebus. He brought a scythe.

Miguel Rodríguez de Villaviciosa, son of Juanes de Villaviciosa, native of Rantaria, of medium stature, beard growing, with a small wound above the left eye-brow, 20 years old, with his arms.

Juan Ximénez, son of Francisco Ximénez, native of Trujillo, of medium stature, blackbearded, 30 years of age, with a suit and sword of his own and harquebus. The rest he said the governor had given him.

Isidro Xuárez, son of Pedro Xuárez Montano, native of Xerez de los Caballeros, of good stature, chestnut colored beard, 20 years of age, with all his arms, which he said the governor had given him.

Hernando de Ynojos, son of Juan Ruiz, native of Cartaya, of good stature, chestnut colored beard, 36 years of age, with all his arms and the other things which he and his brother Sebastian Rodríguez had declared, except a coat of mail, which he said had been given away.

León de Ysasti, son of Juanes de Ysasti, native of the Valle de Haro, of good stature, chestnut colored beard, with a small wound above the left eye-brow, 23 years of age, with his arms.

The *maestro de campo* Don Juan de Zaldívar, 28 years of age, son of Vicente de Zaldívar, native of the city of Zacatecas, a man of good stature, chestnut colored beard, appeared with his arms and displayed the other arms which he had declared except an harquebus which he said he had given to a soldier.

The *sargento mayor* Vicente de Zaldívar, 25 years old, son of Vicente de Zaldívar, native of Zacatecas, of medium stature, chestnut colored beard, appeared with his arms.

Rodrigo Zapata, son of Francisco Hernández Piquete, native of Azuaga, small of stature, chestnut colored beard, with two or three marks on his forehead, 23 years of age, with all his arms.

The purveyor-general Diego de Zubia, 36 years of age, native of the city of Guadalajara in New Galicia, son of Juan de Zubia, of good stature, chestnut colored beard, with a wound in his forehead, appeared with his arms.

APPENDIX B.

Official List of the People who Went to
New Mexico in 1600.*

First passed Juan Guerra de Resa, lieutenant adelantado, governor and captain general of New Mexico, on horseback, the reins in one hand with a staff of command in the other; near him a page completely equipped with arms, - coat of mail, buckskin leather jacket, cuishes, helmet, beaver, harquebus and a horse armed in tanned buckskins.

Company of Captain Bernabé de las Casas.

Captain Bernabé de las Casas, who goes as leader of the said army. He departed from the provinces of New Mexico to lead the people. He was equipped with all arms - coat of mail, cuishes, helmet, beaver, cavalry arms and was on horseback with his harquebus, the horse armed in natural bulls' or cows' hides, which he said came from the church of Teneriffe from the Canary Islands. He was the legitimate son of Miguel de las Casas; is a man of good stature, swarthy of feature, blackbearded, 30 years of age.*

Bernabé Benitez de Azebo, son of Andrés Benitez, a noble, native of Alcazar de Cezeres, fully armed like the rest, 20 years of age, tall of stature, swarthy of feature, well armed. I say he is 34 (slc)

Gonzalo Fernández de la Banda, son of said Benhumea.** with his arms and horse like the others, beard growing, 20 years of age.

Gonzalo Fernández de Benhumea, son of Gonzalo Fernández de Benhumea, native of the town of Cazalla, grayish, short of stature, 53 years of age, fully armed like the others.

* As each man appeared before the inspecting officers he took an oath that the arms were his own, for use in New Mexico.

* There are 80 soldiers in this reinforcement, including Juan Guerra de Resa, who did not go to New Mexico, however. Thus Oñate fulfilled the bond given at Avino, January 21, 1598. See ch. v of this study. The document from which this list was taken is in A. G. I., 58-3-14.

** That is, Gonzalo Fernández de Benhumea.

Sebastian de Benhumea, son of said Benhumea, with his arms like the rest, 18 years of age.

Cristóbal de Brito, the legitimate son of Triminez de la Calle, native of the Isle of La Palma, tall of stature, blackbearded, 25 years of age, fully armed like the others.

Bernabé de las Casas, see above.

Juan Ruiz Cáceres, son of Pedro Ruiz, native of the Isle of La Palma, long-visaged, well bearded, tall of stature, 30 years of age, fully armed like the others.

Diego de Castellanos, son of Domingo de Castellanos, native of Puebla de los Angeles, of medium stature, beardless, well featured, 18 years of age, completely armed like the rest.

Pedro Gómez Durán, sargeant of the said company, equipped with all arms like the rest. He said he was a native of Valverde of the jurisdiction of the Grand Master of Santiago, the legitimate son of Hernán Sánchez Reco. He is a robust man, of good feature, 50 years old.

Antonio Fernández, son of Francisco Simón. He is a native of the city of Braga, tall of stature, well featured, 35 years old, completely equipped with arms like the rest.

Juan Ruiz Fernández, son of Hernando Ruiz de Rojas, native of Espinosa de los Monteros, scant beard, of good feature, medium stature, 23 years of age, fully armed like the others.

Manuel Ferrara, soldier, son of Manuel Ferrara de Figueroa, native of Puebla de los Angeles of New Spain, of good stature and feature, tall, beard growing, 20 years of age, fully armed like the rest.

Gregorio de Figueroa, son of Diego Ruiz de Figueroa, native of the city of Mexico, short of stature, beard growing, 21 years old, armed like the rest.

Domingo Gutierrez, the legitimate son of Domingo Gutierrez, native of the Isle of La Palma, short of stature, round-faced, well bearded, 30 years of age, fully armed like the others.

Juan de Guzmán, son of Luis Andino, native of the port of Santa Maria, short of stature, swarthy of feature, 20 years old, armed like the rest.

Captain Antonio Conde de Herrera, *sargento mayor* of the said relief force, fully equipped with arms, personal and horse, including harquebus, native of Xerez de la Frontera in the kingdom of Castile, son of Xines de Herrera Corta.

García Lucio, soldier of the said company, with his arms and horse like the rest, the legitimate son of Rodrigo Lucio, native of Alcantara, rough beard, well featured, 30 years old.

Juan Luxán, son of Francisco Rodríguez, native of the Isle of La Palma, short of stature, 27 years of age, armed like the others.

Miguel Martín, son of Lucas Martín, native of the city of Escalona, blue eyed, beard growing, 22 years of age, equipped with arms and horse like the rest.

Baltasar Martínez, *cogedor*, son of Juan Sánchez, *cogedor*, native of the town of Vudia in the kingdom of Castile, tall of stature, well featured, beard growing, 22 years old, armed like the rest.

Captain Gerónimo Márquez, *maese de campo* of the said relief force, with his arms, both personal and horse. He said he was a native of San Lucar de Barrameda, the legitimate son of Hernán Muñoz Zamorano, 40 years of age, swarthy of feature, blackbearded.

Juan López de Medel, son of Pedro López de Medel, native of the Isle of La Palma, tall of stature, blackbearded, 36 years old, armed like the others.

Antonio Mexía, son of Luis Mexía, native of the city of Seville, 18 years of age, beardless, of good countenance, fully armed like the rest.

Bartolomé Montoya, son of Francisco de Montoya, na-

tive of Cantillana, fully armed, blackbearded, short of stature, 28 years of age.

Luís Moreno, ensign, son of Luís Fernández Moltaluo, native of the Isle of Teneriffe, well featured, tough beard, tall of stature, 26 years of age, fully armed like the rest.

Juan Muñoz, ensign, enlisted with his arms and horse like the rest, with a standard of red damask in the hand having two emblems of Our Lady and St. James, the border of gold and silk. He said he was a native of Xerez de la Frontera, son of Cristóbal de Bargas. He is a man tall of stature, very fat, round-faced, blackbearded, 40 years of age.

Francisco Díaz de la Peña, son of Francisco Díaz de la Peña, native of the city of Toledo, beardless, blue-eyed, short of stature, 18 years old, armed like the others.

Pedro Rodríguez, native of the Isle of La Palma, short of stature, tough beard, of good feature, 30 years old, fully armed.

Juan Baptista Ruato, leader, with his arms and horse like the rest, native of the Isle of Teneriffe, the legitimate son of Amador Balez, of medium stature, fine reddish countenance, light blue eyes, well bearded, 30 years of age.

Bartolomé Sánchez, native of Llerena, the legitimate son of Bartolomé Sánchez, equipped with all arms for person and horse like the rest, tough beard, well featured, 28 years of age.

Bernabé de Santillan, son of Hernando de Olivar, native of Madrid, tall, beard growing, swarthy, 24 years of age, armed like the rest.

Tristán Vaez, son of Amador Vaez, native of Puebla de los Angeles, of this New Spain, beard growing, short of stature, 20 years old, fully armed like the rest.

Juan Rodríguez Vellido, son of Francisco Nuñez, native of Xibraleon in Castile, well bearded, with a scar below the left eye, 40 years of age, fully armed like the rest.

Estevan Pérez de Yranzo, son of Vicente Pérez de Yranzo, native of the town of San Martín in New Galicia, of good stature, rough beard, fully armed like the others, 30 years of age.

Captain Villagrà's List.

Captain Gaspár de Villagrà, procurator-general of the expedition was armed in coat of mail, cuishes, iron beaver and had a short lance. The horse was armed in bulls' or cows' hides. He made a demonstration of his entire company. . . .

Francisco de Algecira, ensign, son of the licentiate Diego de Algecira Ricaldo, 20 years old, of good feature, beard growing, armed like the rest.

Captain Juan de Victoria Carbajal, who went to the said provinces of New Mexico and is now returning there-to, member of the council of war. He is a son of Juan de Carbajal, well featured, with a mark on the right side of the face above the eye, 38 years of age, completely armed like the others.

Captain Francisco Donis, the legitimate son of Gaspár Donis, native of Los Angeles, with a mark in his forehead, of good stature, tough beard, 33 years of age, armed like the rest.

Cristóbal González de Flores, sargeant, son of Antón Alonso, native of Seville, blackbearded, tall, 40 years old, armed like the others.

Diego Martínez de Guevara, sargeant, son of Benito Martínez de Guevara, native of Burgos, 21 years of age, short of stature, tough beard, blue-eyed, armed like the rest.

Juan de Herrera, son of Francisco de Herrera, native of the city of Mexico, medium of stature, round-faced, beard growing, 20 years old, armed like the others.

Juan López Holguin, ensign, son of Juan López Villasana, native of Fuente Obejuna, of good stature, blackbearded, with a mark on the left eye, 40 years old, armed like the rest.

Juan de Lara, son of Francisco de Pineda, native of Antequera, 20 years old, beardless, blue-eyed, medium of stature, armed like the others.

Captain Juan Martínez de Montoya, son of Bartolome Martínez de Montoya, native of the town of Nava la Camella in the jurisdiction of Segovia in Castile, tall, of good feature, blackbearded, 40 years old, armed like the rest.

Juan Rangel, ensign, son of Cristóbal Gaspár Anríquez, native of the city of Mexico, 25 years of age, tall of stature, well featured, fully equipped with arms for man and horse like his captain [Villagrà] and with a standard in his hands.

Captain Francisco Rascon, son of Francisco Rascon, native of the city of Los Angeles in New Spain, tall of stature, well featured, 25 years old, armed like the others.

Don Pedro Gallegos Truxillo, ensign, son of García de Truxillo de Gallegos, native of Xerez de la Frontera, 23 years of age, armed like the rest.

Captain Cristóbal Vaca, the legitimate son of Juan de Vaca, native of the city of Mexico, of good stature, swarthy, well featured, 33 years of age, with his arms like the rest.

Andrés Gutierrez Valdivia, ensign, son of Cristóbal Gutierrez Valdivia, native of San Lucar de Barrameda, of good stature, well bearded, swarthy of feature, 32 years old, armed like the others.

Blas de Valdivia, son of Juan de Valdivia, native of Seville, beardless, round-faced, beard growing, 20 years of age, armed like the rest.

Captain Alonso Vayo, son of Juan Dominguez, native of San Juan del Puerto in Castile, with a mark on the left cheek, tall, 25 years of age. He enlisted with a buckskin leather jacket, adorned coat of mail, harquebus and came on horseback, behind him a servant, completely armed, both man and horse, with a lance in the hand. He requested that he be given testimony of this.

Alonso de la Vega, sergeant, son of Juan de la Vega, native of Carmona, short of stature, tough beard, 26 years of age, armed like the rest.

Captain Villagr , see above.

Captain Ortega's List.

Then appeared Captain Juan de Ortega with a squadron of armed men on horseback, the horses also being armed. . . . The squadron was ordered to march to the encampment [San Bartolom ]. This was done, the harquebuses being discharged now and then. The commissaries, having seen the captain and force, ordered them to place themselves face to face, and they were enrolled in the following manner.

Captain Juan de Ortega, son of Hernando de Ortega, native of Los Angeles, medium of stature, of good feature, redbearded, 27 years of age. He enlisted with his arms. harquebus, coat of mail, cuishes, beaver, dagger and sword, leather shield and buckskin jacket. The horse was armed in bull's or cow's hide.

Juan Alonso, soldier, son of Juan M ndez, native of Seville, of good stature, well bearded, 24 years of age, armed like the rest.

Diego Hern ndez Barriga, son of Juan Fern ndez, native of Moguer, a well built man, well bearded, 25 years of age, armed like the rest.

Diego D ez, son of Diego D ez, native of Havana, 18 years old, fat, beardless, armed like the others.

Isidro Su rez de Figueroa, ensign of this company, son of Pedro Su rez Montano, native of Xerez de los Caballos. He came from New Mexico. He is of good stature, swarthy, long-visaged, recently bearded, 24 years old, with arms similar to his captain's

Juan Garc a, native of Puebla de los Angeles, beardless, thin, 20 years old, with his arms like the others.

Don Alonso de Guzm n, sergeant of said company, son

of Antonio de Guzmán, native of Cuenca, of good stature, well bearded, 22 years old, fully equipped with arms for man and horse like the rest.

Juan Jorge, son of Juan Jorge Griego, native of the town of Los Lagos, tall of stature, swarthy, 35 years of age, armed like the rest.

Cristóbal de Lizaga, son of Juan de Lizaga, native of Tépez in New Spain, of good feature, tall, beardless, 22 years old, with his arms.

Mateo López, son of Juan Marcos, native of Madrid, 20 years of age, beard growing, swarthy, round-faced, with his arms.

Antonio de Manzaneda, son of Luís de Manzaneda, native of Los Angeles, tall, beardless, 18 years old, enlisted like the rest.

Sebastian Martín, son of Francisco Martín, native of Seville, of medium stature, beard growing, 21 years old, with his arms.

Juan Martínez, son of Juan Martínez, native of Talavera, of good stature, somewhat bearded, 23 years old, enlisted with his arms like the others.

Juan de Melgar, son of Lorenzo de Melgar, native of Zacatecas, tough beard, of medium stature, lame in one leg, 26 years of age, enlisted armed like the rest.

Luís de Morales, son of Francisco de Morales, native of Los Angeles in New Spain, of good stature, with a scar from a wound on the left side of the beard, 23 years old, with his arms.

Captain Juan de Ortega, see above.

Francisco Ruiz, native of Espinosa de los Monteros, 20 years old, of good stature, beard growing, enlisted with his arms.

Francisco Sánchez, son of Juan Sánchez, native of Mexico, beardless, of good feature, 18 years old, with arms and horse like the rest.

Francisco Suárez, son of Diego Suárez, native of Garachico on the Isle of Teneriffe, of good feature, tall, beard growing, 20 years old, with his arms, i. e., coat of mail, beaver, cuishes, harquebus, dagger, sword, and horse which was armed like the others.

Of the following nine soldiers we have no descriptions. The first and fifth enrolled late, the others departed early.

Pedro de Angelo.	Juan Gregorio.
Juan Fernández.	Juan Hurtado.
Alvaro García.	Pedro Pérez.
Simón García.	Robledo.
Juan Gil.	

List of Married Women.

Doña Francisca Galindo, wife of Captain *sargento mayor* Antonio Conde Herrera.

Doña Anna Galindo, Doña Gerónima Galindo and Doña María Galindo, sisters of the said Doña Francisca, unmarried.

Doña Margarita and Domingo de Castellanos, children of the said captain.

Juana Gutierrez, wife of Gerónimo Hernández de Benhumea.

Doña Anna de Mendoza, daughter of Doña Luisa de Mendoza, native of Mexico, wife of the ensign Gregorio de Figueroa.

Doña Anna Ortiz, daughter of Francisco Pacheco, wife of Cristóbal Vaca, native of Mexico. Here three daughters and son, named Juana de Zamora, Ysabel and Maria de Villarubia, and the boy Antonio. She brings an unmarried servant Anna Berdugo, natives of Mexico.

Francisca de Valles, wife of Juan Ruiz Fernández,

Maria de Zamora, legitimate wife of Bartolomé de Montoya, with five children, three boys and two girls, all under sixteen, named Francisco, Diego, Joseph, Lucia and Petronilla.

Anna India, native of Puebla de los Angeles, and Paul Hernández, her natural husband, from the said town, with two little children, María and Estevan; servants of Juan Baptista.

Juana Fernández, unmarried, sister of the aforesaid, in service of Juan Baptista.

Beatriz de los Angeles, unmarried, servant of Cristóbal de Brito; and Juan Tarasco, servant of the same man.

Anna, living with an Indian named Francisco belonging to Captain Bernabé de las Casas.

A girl named Ines, 10 years old.

María, unmarried, servant of Juan López. She has a girl named Mariana.

Catalina, sister of the aforesaid spinster. She has a girl called María; is in service of Juan López.

Agustina, her sister, married to Francisco servant of Juan Lopez.

Francisco, an Indian, servant of Captain Bernabé de las Casas.

Francisca, unmarried, servant of Bartolomé Sánchez.

Francisca Ximénez, unmarried, servant of Juan Lujanes.

A girl called María.

Madalena, unmarried, servant of Pedro Rodríguez.

Mateo, a mulatto, in service of Juan Baptista Ruano.

Isabel, a mulatto woman, unmarried and free.

MILITARY ESCORTS ON THE SANTA FE TRAIL

FRED S. PERRINE

Without doubt the romance of the Santa Fe Trail appeals to a great many readers who are interested in the days of the pioneer, and the settlement of the great Southwest.

Covering a period of practically three decades, the history of the Santa Fe Trail is replete with Indian attacks and hair-raising adventures.

The first military escort furnished the Santa Fe trade by the federal government, was in 1829, when four companies of the 6th Infantry, under the command of Major Bennett Riley, left Jefferson Barracks, Mo., May 5, 1829, to protect a caravan of about 79 men and 38 wagons. Riley's command had 20 wagons laden with flour, and 4 ox-carts with camp equipment.

The best contemporary account we have of affairs on the Santa Fe Trail is Gregg's "Commerce of the Prairies," Early Western Travels Series,^o edited by Reuben Gold Thwaites. Gregg states as follows, Vol. xix, p. 187:

"This escort under Major Riley, and one composed of about sixty dragoons, commanded by Captain Wharton, in 1834, constituted the only government protection ever afforded to the Santa Fe trade until 1843, when large escorts under Captain Cook accompanied two different caravans as far as the Arkansas river," but on p. 107, Vol. xx, he contradicts himself as follows:

"We had just reached the extreme edge of the far famed, 'Cross Timbers' when we were gratified by the arrival of forty dragoons, under the command of Lieut. Bowman, who had orders to accompany us to the supposed boundaries of the United States." This was in 1839, and Gregg's caravan, this year, did not follow the regular route to Santa Fe, but left Van Buren, Arkansas, crossing the

Arkansas River, striking westerly toward the North fork of the Canadian, which they struck near its confluence with the Canadian. Thence westerly along the north bank of the Canadian to Santa Fe, which was practically due west from Van Buren.

Of the first military escort, under Major Riley we have his official report, dated Cantonment Leavenworth, Nov. 22, 1829. This report was published in American State Papers, Military Affairs, Vol. ix, pp. 277-280, but in a garbled condition. Efforts are now being made to ascertain if the original manuscript report of Major Riley, together with the communications mentioned in his report, are still extant in the records of the War Department.

The report of Major Riley, as published in American State Papers, above mentioned, will be included in this article, with remarks and notations, and in case the original reports and communications are located, they will be embodied in a later article.

Between 1829 and 1834, there are no *government* records showing that United States troops were used as escorts on the Santa Fe Trail, although the following appears in the St. Louis Republican, under date of April 23, 1832:*

"Many of our enterprising young men have already left, and others are preparing to take their departure for Santa Fe. The upper country will also send out an unusual number of traders. They are to rendezvous at the round prairie, near the Missouri line, on the 15th of next month; when they will be escorted as far as the boundary between the U. States and New Spain, *by a detachment of the U. S. Army.*"

Other than Gregg's "Commerce of the Prairies," Niles "Weekly Register," and the contemporary files of the St. Louis newspapers, give the most information of the doings along the Santa Fe Trail. Many papers of the time protested against the furnishing of military escorts to the

* Bancroft in "History of Arizona and New Mexico," p. 335, note 36, states: "Chas. Bent is named as capt. of a caravan of 93 wagons in '33, escorted by a company of rangers:" giving as his authority Niles' Register xlv, 374.

trade on account of the expense; and the traders banded themselves together for their mutual protection against the Indians.

The next military escort furnished the Santa Fe trade was that of Company A, United States Dragoons, under the command of Captain Clifton Wharton, in 1834. Captain Wharton's report, which has never been published, has been unearthed through the efforts of Hon. Chas. L. McNary, senior senator from Oregon, Mr. Grant Foreman, and the writer of this article. This report of Captain Wharton will be taken up after the Riley report.

Between the years 1834 and 1843, a hiatus exists, at least as far as government records are concerned, relative to military escorts on the Santa Fe Trail.

There is no government record of the escort furnished Gregg's expedition in 1839, under the command of Lieutenant James Monroe Bowman, and as far as the writer has been able to ascertain, Gregg is the only one who makes any mention of it.

The next record of United States troops escorting Santa Fe caravans, is furnished by Gregg, who states: "Large escorts under Captain Cook* accompanied two different caravans, as far as the Arkansas river."

The writer of this article is under many obligations to Hon. Chas. L. McNary, U. S. Senator from Oregon, Mr. Grant Foreman of Muskogee, Okla., and Miss Stella M. Drumm, of the Missouri Historical Society, and hereby heartily acknowledges the same.

Report of four Companies of Sixth regiment of the United States Infantry which left Jefferson Barracks on the 5th of May 1829, under the command of Brevet Major Riley,¹ of the United States army, for the protection of the trade of Santa Fe.

* This was Philip St. George Cooke, whose experiences during the escort of the caravans referred to, are found in his "Scenes and Adventures in the Army," now out of print, and not easily available. A brief resume of this book will follow the report of Captain Wharton.

1. Bennett Riley, born in Maryland, was appointed ensign in the Rifles, Jan. 19, 1813. After serving through several grades, Captain of the 5th Inf., June 1,

Cantonment Leavenworth, November 22, 1829.

Sir: I have the honor to report my arrival here with the United States troops I have the honor to command, on the 8th of this month, all well, and in good spirits, but rather thinly clad for the season. The command left this place on the 3d of June, and the opposite side of the river on the 4th. The reason for my crossing the river and going to the other side I have already stated in my communications to the department that is, from the information I could get, that it was the best side; but on my return I found that the people had given me wrong information of the road. However, we had little or no trouble except with the oxen, they being of different ages, some old and some young, and not used to be put together, and the teamsters not accustomed to drive them. All these things combined troubled us a little, but after five or six days we had no trouble. Nothing occurred worthy of notice until the 11th, when a cart, which had been purchased by the assistant quartermaster, Lee,² broke down, and on examining it we found that the inside of the hubs was entirely decayed, and the boxes had become so loose that it could not be repaired on the prairie.

I directed my assistant quarter-master, Lieutenant Brooke,³ to have it left behind, rather than lose time by calling a board or trying to repair it. On the same day we fell in with the company of traders, at a place called

1821. Shortly after was transferred to the 6th Inf., and after that he served in the 4th and 2nd Inf., until he was appointed Colonel of the 1st Inf., on Jan. 31, 1850. He served through the Seminole and the Mexican Wars, and died June 9, 1853.

2. Francis Lee, born in Pa., a West Point graduate. Served in the 7th, 4th and 6th Inf., and on Oct. 18, 1855, was appointed Colonel of the 2nd Inf. Served through the Mexican War, and was brevetted for gallant and meritorious conduct in this conflict. He died Jan. 19, 1859.

3. Francis J. Brooke, was born in Virginia, graduated from West Point, class of 1826, served first in the 6th Inf., then in the 7th Inf., appointed First Lieutenant of the 6th Inf., on May 6, 1835, and was killed in a battle with the Seminole Indians at Okeechobee, Fla., December 25, 1837.

Round Grove,⁴ consisting of about 79 men and 38 wagons, which we took under our protection, and on the 12th left the Grove. (Please to see, per journal, the arrivals, and departures, and progress of each day.)

On the 20th we left Council Grove.⁵ After going some miles we found a piece of bark stuck up in the road, that had written on it, "The Kansas have been attacked a few days since by the Pawnee Picks, and one of them has been killed." We saw several of their camps as we passed along, but after this we saw but one, which we took to be the camp of some other nation of Indians, and concluded that they had gone back; but on our return we learned that they had pushed ahead and waited for me at Cow Creek,⁶ the place where we saw the last Indian camp, where they had stayed two or three days, and then, being out of provisions, had crossed the Arkansas lower down than where we struck it, and had gone low down on the Semirone,⁷ so that we missed them altogether.

I had followed your instructions inviting the Kansas, Ioways, and Shawnese, to accompany the expedition without pay or rations, but to have my protection on their hunts, but received no answer from either of them; if I had, I should have sent a runner ahead to inform them that my command was at hand. In a few days after that we lost six horses belonging to individuals, and some of the

4. Also called Lone Elm, and The Glen. On the head waters of Cedar Creek, between Olathe and Gardner, Kan., about 35 miles from Independence. Farnham, in his "Travels in the Great Western Prairies" calls this Elm Grove. This point was on the Oregon Trail as well as the Santa Fe Trail.

5. Council Grove, now seat of Morris County, Kan., an important stop on the Santa Fe Trail. Here the traders met, organized, elected officers, etc., also here were generally secured timber for axles, wagon tongues, etc., as no serviceable timber was to be obtained further west. For a description of this place see "Thwaites' Early Western Travels," Vol. xix, p. 201, also xxviii, p. 63.

6. Distance from Independence, according to Gregg, about 249 miles. Was similar in character to the Little Arkansas, with high banks and miry bottom. Flows from Barton County, southeast across Rice County, Kan. Hutchinson, Kan., is at its confluence with the Arkansas. The Santa Fe Trail crossed the headwaters of several of its tributaries.

7. Cimarron River, also called Semirone, Salt Fork of the Arkansas, Red Fork, Grand Saline, etc., was at most times entirely dry, water flowing under the sand except in times of freshets. From the Arkansas to the Cimarron was the most dreaded part of the entire trail.

traders reported that they had seen signs of Indians, which determined me to abandon the idea of sending an express after we should have left Turkey Creek,⁸ which you will see was for the good of the service. On the 9th of July we arrived at Chouteau's island⁹ where the traders determined to cross the river. The next day I received the enclosed communications, marked A and B. The next day, the 11th, I delivered them the enclosed copy of a letter to the governor of Santa Fé, marked C, and received the enclosed communication, marked D. The communication marked D, I thought was requisite, in order that I should know where and when they were to meet us. They crossed the river on the 10th, and on the 11th I went across to see them, and at about one o'clock they started.

I had given them my views and advice of the manner they should proceed, and they promised to adhere to it, but it was soon forgotten. I told them that they must stick together, and not leave their wagons more than one hundred yards, without they sent out a party to hunt, but it had no effect; for at about half-past six of the same evening an express arrived from them, stating that Mr. Lamme,¹⁰ a merchant from Liberty,¹¹ was killed, and they were only

8. Branch of the Little Arkansas in McPherson County, Kan., and about 212 miles from Independence, according to Gregg. There were two or three Turkey Creeks in this vicinity, viz; Little Turkey, Big Turkey, and Running Turkey.

9. Chouteau's Island was at the upper ford of the Arkansas River, just above the present town of Hartland, Kearny Co., Kan., according to Thwaites' "Early Western Travels," Vol. xix, p. 185; while Coues, in Pike's Expedition Vol ii, p. 440 states: "Most of the older maps mark hereabout the large island in the Arkansas called Chouteau's, somewhat W. of the 101st Meridian, and apparently near Deerfield," and he further states as follows, in the "Journal of Jacob Fowler," p. 32: "Chouteau's, whose name was long borne by a large island in this vicinity, not easy to locate exactly. If there has been but one of this name, Chouteau's Island had floated a good many miles up and down the river, at least in books I have sought on the subject. Inman locates it near Cimarron, Kansas, p. 42, at the mouth of Big Sandy Creek, Colo., on p. 75; and his map agrees with the latter position."

10. Samuel Craig Lamme, a merchant of Franklin, Mo., who had recently come thither from Harrison County, Ky. (Thwaites' "Early Western Travels," xix, p. 186.)

11. Liberty, Mo., the county seat of Clay County, was settled in 1822, but up to 1826 had only about a dozen houses; it was incorporated in 1829. During the Mormon troubles in the fourth decade of the nineteenth century, Liberty rose to prominence. The town is set back about six miles from the river, on the high salubrious uplands. Liberty Landing on the river, was, in the days of the Santa Fe trade, of considerable importance. (Thwaites' "Early Western Travels," Vol. xxii, p. 249.)

six miles off, and the Indians were all around them, and if I did not go to their assistance that they expected to be all killed and scalped. I could not hesitate, but struck my tents immediately and commenced crossing; but, unfortunately for my oxen, the river had risen about two feet during the day, so that we had some difficulty in getting across, but eventually succeeded. I reached them with the first division, composed of companies A and B, with the six-pounder and ammunition wagon, at about eleven o'clock at night, and the second division, under the command of Captain Wickliffe,¹² in about an hour after, with companies F and H, and the rest of the baggage and wagons. We found them in a very dangerous situation, surrounded by very high sand hills, with deep ravines running in every direction; so that, I think, if they had been attacked by any other enemy but the Indians of that country they must have been all killed and scalped; but fortunately for them, in the midst of misfortune, the Indians run off after having killed and scalped Mr. Lamme. As soon as I arrived I selected the best position I could, and remained under arms all night, but saw no Indians.

At reveille some of the traders gave an alarm, and said that they saw the Indians in great numbers, but we could see nothing of them. They expressed a wish that I would go further with them. I consented to travel with them two days, or until they should reach the Semirone; they appeared to be very well satisfied, and after burying Mr. Lamme, about ten o'clock a. m. we took up our line of march. The next day, the 13th, we reached a little creek, where there was good grass and water, which was very fortunate for us, for thirteen yokes of oxen had given out on that day. We rested in the 14th, and the traders stayed with us, when in the evening I received the enclosed communication, marked E, and I herewith enclose a copy of my answer to all their communications. We parted on the

12. William N. Wickliffe was born in Kentucky, and his military service was confined to the 6th Inf., in which he rose to a Captaincy, Feb. 15, 1826. He resigned July 31, 1837.

next day and I arrived at Chauteau's island on the 16th, after a fatiguing march of five days since we left the river. We encamped on the Mexican side for six or eight days, during which time we found it necessary to have the oxen unyoked and herded in good grass. We re-crossed at the expiration of the time above named and encamped a little above, opposite Chauteau's island. The position was as good as we could get at that point. The above was a little too near, but we had to encamp there for the purpose of giving our cattle a chance of gaining strength and spirits, there being good grass and wood there. We remained quiet until the 31st of July, when four discharged soldiers, Simmons, Fry, Colvin, and Gordon, started for the settlements. They, had, a few days previous, asked my advice about going in. I told them that they ought not to think of such a thing, for that I had given up sending expresses, and that was a proof of the danger but they added that they were citizens, and to do as they pleased; but if they wished to stay they should have something to eat. All this had no effect; they wanted to go.

I wrote to the department and told you everything, and added at the bottom that it was very doubtful if you ever got the letter. At night of that day three of them only got back to camp, and I think it very doubtful, if it had not been for a hunting party under the command of Lieutenant Searight,¹³ whether any of them would have got back or not. They stated that they had not gone more than eight or ten miles when they discovered about thirty Indians riding across the river. They landed and soon galloped up to them, when one of the men made a sign of peace, which they returned, and the parties shook hands. Then the Indians made signs for them to go across the river, which they declined, and started on their journey, the Indians still making signs for them to cross the river.

13. Joseph Dondaldson Searight, was born in Maryland, and appointed to West Point from Pennsylvania. He graduated in the class of 1822, and served in the 4th and 6th Inf., in which latter regiment he rose to a Captaincy, Dec. 25, 1837. He resigned from the Army November 7, 1845, and died Jan. 22, 1885.

George Gordon looked back and said they were all friends, and that he would go and shake hands with them again; the others told him not, but in the act of shaking hands with them a second time, he was killed by another Indian with a gun. The other three immediately took off their packs and prepared to defend themselves. The Indians began to ride round and cut capers on their horses; the three men fired one at a time at them, and retreated towards my camp, and met Lieutenant Searight's party. They said they killed one of the Indians.

The next day, 1st August, I sent Captain Wickliffe, with about forty or fifty men and one of the discharged men, in search of the body of Gordon, and he returned in the evening without effecting his object. The man that went with him was so alarmed that he could not find the place. On the 3d, in the morning, I determined to make another search, and if possible to find and bury the bones of the man who had been killed. Accordingly, I ordered Lieutenant Isard,¹⁴ acting adjutant, to take charge of a party of forty men, and the two other discharged men, to proceed, search for, and bury the bones if he could find them. Whilst he was absent with his company, between one and two o'clock p. m., the Indians made a desperate charge on horseback on our cattle and their guard, which was about four or five hundred yards from our camp. It was a perfect level; there was nothing to obstruct the advance of anything, or prevent us from seeing at the first onset. I immediately ordered light company B., that was armed with rifles and commanded by Captain Pentland,¹⁵ to advance and skirmish with the enemy until I could form

14. James Farley Izard, born in Pennsylvania, and from the same state was appointed to West Point, graduating in the class of 1824. He served in the 2nd Inf., and on March 4, 1833, received a commission of first Lieutenant in the Dragoon Regiment. He died March 5, 1836, from wounds received on Feb. 28, 1836, in action with the Seminole Indians at Camp Izard, Fla.

15. Joseph Pentland, born in Pennsylvania, appointed to West Point from the same state, graduating in the class of 1818. He served only in the 6th Inf., receiving his appointment as Captain, October 31, 1827, and was dismissed from the Army, April 22, 1830. Died in 1833.

the line, thinking at the time that they intended a general attack. Lieutenant Cooke,¹⁶ with his guard, was ordered to that point, for the cattle guard was in great danger; but the promptness of the movement checked the charge of the enemy. They had, however, wounded Samuel Arison, a private in grenadier company A, 6th regiment. He was brought in by some of light company B, and died of his wounds a few hours after. These wounds were nine in number. In the meantime I had formed company H, commanded by Lieutenant Waters,¹⁷ and company F, commanded by Captain Wickliffe, and marched them forward at double quick time towards the thickest of the enemy; and when about one hundred and fifty yards fired a volley. At that moment I discovered that the Indians were around my camp. Lieutenant Searight was playing away with the six-pounder with good effect, and changing his position as circumstances required. I gave the command of the two companies to Captain Wickliffe, and went to the right flank, where I directed grenadier company A, commanded by Lieutenant Van Swearingen,¹⁸ to protect it, which was promptly executed. In the meantime, Captain Wickliffe, with great presence of mind, had crossed his company to the island to protect the rear, and opened a fire on the enemy. The Indians, seeing that we were well guarded on every side, began to gallop around and to move off. Our cattle and horses had taken fright at the first onset, but a great part of them had been stopped by the company in the rear. On the right flank there were about twenty, and very few Indians about them. I thought probably they

16. Philip St. George Cooke, a Virginian, graduated from West Point in 1823. He served successively in the 6th Inf., the Dragoon Regt, 2nd Dragoons, and 2nd Cav. Served in the Mexican War, and through the Civil War. Was brevetted twice for gallant and meritorious conduct, and retired a Major General by brevet, October 29, 1873. Died March 20 1895.

17. George Washington Waters of Massachussets, graduated from West Point in 1819. Served only in the 6th Inf., where he rose to the rank of Captain. Resigned April 30, 1837, and died March 14, 1846.

18. Joseph Van Swearingen, of Maryland, also graduated from West Point in 1819, served in the 1st and later in the 6th Inf., in which latter regiment he rose to the rank of Captain. He was killed December 25, 1837, in battle with the Seminole Indians at Okeechobee, Fla.

might be saved. I directed Lieutenant Van Swearingen with his company to advance, and if possible to recover them; after he had got some distance from camp, and knowing that he had a good bugler with him, I ordered my bugler to sound double quick, he did, and Lieutenant Van Swearingen's bugler mistook the call, and the company returned without the cattle. By this time the enemy was retiring after a loss of eight killed and one wounded. Our loss, one man wounded, who died in a few hours after, fifty-four oxen, ten public horses, ten private horses, and a few public mules. Think what our feelings must have been to see them going off with our cattle and horses, when if we had been mounted, we could have beaten them to pieces; but we were obliged to content ourselves with whipping them from our camp. We did not get any of the killed or wounded, but we saw the next day where they had dragged them off. They have said since that our fire from the big gun killed five or six. Lieutenant Brooke, my assistant quartermaster and commissary, seeing that there was very little to do in the staff, shouldered his rifle, marched out with the companies, and fought with them. The pitching of our tents was according to regulations, so that they formed a square. The cannon was in front of company A, on the right flank; company F, in the rear; companies B and H on the left flank. Lieutenant Brooke very promptly marched his guard to its proper place in front, after he, with his guard, had assisted in charging the first onset of the enemy. I have never seen officers and men more anxious to have a good fight. Every officer seemed to vie with each other who should do most for his country. After all was over I had the men formed and gave them an extra gill, and signified my satisfaction at their conduct. The Indians were about three hundred strong, well mounted, and with guns, bows, and spears; and our force about one hundred and thirty or forty. Lieutenant Izard being absent with his command, about forty men. The nation or nations we could not tell, but I have reason to believe that there

was a part of the Camanchies, Arapahoes, and Hiaways, as one of my men's tin pans was found with some of these three nations that attacked the traders on their return, as also King's powder horn, that was recognized by some of my men when they showed things they had taken from the men killed in battle. We moved down the river in three or four days after this affair. On the 10th Corporal Astor came to us and informed us that he and Nation had been sent with an express, and that on the 23d July they were attacked by about fifteen Indians, who succeeded in getting the mail and horses and wounding them both, Nation dangerously, by a spear in the breast, and him slightly in the wrist by an arrow. He reported that Nation then laid sick with his wound, about ten miles off, and that he had been wandering about since the attack of the 23d in hopes of finding us. He also stated that they had fed on snakes and frogs a great part of the time. He says that somewhere about the Council Grove they saw some Indians who showed them something of hostility, but did not attack them. I immediately ordered a company of forty men, and Lieutenant Swearingen to command them, and to take a cart and bring in Nation. He returned at about nine or ten o'clock at night with him; he was very low; he reports that his joy, at seeing the party, was beyond expression; he shed tears, and tried to make a noise, but was unable in consequence of his weakness. The next day, 11th August, between 10 and 11 o'clock in the morning, we saw some Indians about two miles and a half from the camp, walking in and out of a ravine; and, after a little, saw some leading horses. They would sometimes come up the river and then go down again. It was evident that they wanted to decoy us from our camp. I had sent three or four men across the river a little above our camp, to lay under the bank, about four or five hundred yards, for the purpose of killing buffalo, which I had done every day since we had been at this camp with a great deal of success. On the appearance of the Indians I had the recall sounded,

and they returned and reported that they had killed three buffaloes. The Indians having disappeared, about one or two o'clock, I directed a party of sixteen men, an officer, and a non-commissioned officer to be detailed, and to take with them a wagon and team and bring in the buffaloes that had been killed. Shortly after Captain Pentland reported to me that he had been detailed to go on the command; I directed him to take bugler King, of company A with him to show him where the buffaloes laid, as he was one of the party which assisted in killing them; which, with the teamster, made the party twenty in number. I gave him instructions, stating that he had seen the Indians in the morning, and that he must keep his party together and not be dispersed; that in case he was attacked he must fight the enemy, and that I should support him in a very short time; but added again, "keep your party on the alert;" but, instead of that, as soon as he had crossed the river, King saw a buffalo crossing to the river, and obtained Captain Pentland's permission to leave the party and try to get a shot at him. In the meantime our camp was attacked by about one hundred and fifty Indians. I had the command turned out and formed as before, of one company on each side of the square. They did not, however, come within musket shot.

Lieutenant Searight had commenced a fire with the 6-pounder with some effect. I had told Captain Wickliffe that if he heard a fire on the other side of the river he, with his company, must move to support Captain Pentland. The enemy having gathered to the left flank of the C. P. was moved to that point. Captain Wickliffe marched in the direction of Captain Pentland's party. When he approached the river he discovered that the party had crossed to a sand bank near the side of the river, and understood by one of the party that belonged to the company that King had been killed. On my hearing that King was killed, and that Captain Pentland had retreated across the river, I despatched my adjutant, Lieutenant Izard, to direct

Captain Wickliffe to cross the river and secure the body, thinking that they had in the skirmish no time to take his scalp, and also directed Captain Pentland, with his party, to support him. As Captain Wickliffe crossed the river he was fired at by about fifteen or twenty Indians, and he returned the fire from his company. He then saw the wagon and team running down the river. He directed Captain Pentland to recover the body of King and he would with his company recover his wagon and team, after exchanging several fires with the enemy. In the meantime Captain Pentland had recovered the body and brought it into camp. On the first fire of Captain Wickliffe, I directed company B, under the command of Lieutenant Sevier,¹⁹ (his captain being on detached service and his lieutenants on guard,) to support Captain Wickliffe, which he did, and reached the point of support in about four or five minutes. Captain Wickliffe seeing that the enemy had dispersed, had the buffaloes cut up and brought into camp. It is said by the men, and I believe, that there was not more than fifteen or twenty Indians on that side of the river, and as soon as they were discovered in pursuit, Captain Pentland ordered his party to retreat. There are two instances in this report in support of my opinion, that in the case of the discharged soldiers, when four were attacked by thirty, and they got off safe, after they showed resistance, and the case of Arter Nation, two attacked by fifteen, and when a show of resistance was made they went off. The way Nation was killed was in shaking hands with them, and in the act of giving tobacco. I am thus particular to show the government that I have done the best in my power, and that my arrangements in this case were as good as they could be, but unfortunately they were not carried into effect as they will be seen in the report. The loss on both sides was

19. Robert Sevier, of Tennessee, a member of the West Point class of 1824, served only in the 6th Inf., being appointed First Lieutenant August 10, 1836, and serving as regimental Adjutant till his resignation on October 31, 1837. He died May 16, 1879.

equal in number. Mathew King, a bugler in grenadier company A, 6th regiment; one Indian killed by the 6-pounder under the direction of Lieutenant Searight.

After the enemy had dispersed I directed Captain Pentland to hand in a written report; he did, and I have the honor to enclose it, marked K. He says he was attacked. I venture to assert that he was not fired on by the enemy, neither did he fire at them; then how could it be called an attack. They killed King about two or three hundred yards from the party, it is said. He says in his report that there were forty-six or fifty Indians. Admit there were in the name of God, cannot twenty Americans whip fifty Indians? I answer yes, that they can whip one hundred such as we came in contact with in that country.

After this we kept moving every day to get grass and to find buffalo, which we had the good fortune to find plenty to have supplied five hundred men. It was not fat, but our men fattened on it. They had as much as they could eat the whole time, and half ration of flour and salt. Nothing of moment occurred from the 11th of August until the 11th of October, except the death of Nation, which took place a few days after he arrived. The last of September and first of October we were engaged in overhauling our wagons and carts. By a board of officers they have condemned five wagons and three carts, which they say are entirely unfit for service. There being no purchasers, according to the regulations, I ordered them to be burned, and the iron cached in a safe place, which was done. You will see by the enclosed, marked D, that we meant to wait until the 10th of October, but we staid a day longer, and did not move until the 11th. Early in the morning of the 11th, the moment this transportation having been put in as good order as it could be in at that place, with fifteen day's full rations of pork, beans, salt, vinegar, soap, candles, and about twenty-eight days of flour and bread, with about thirty-two of dried buffalo meat, which I had ordered the company to save during the time we were lying still.

On my arrival at Chauteau's island, on the 9th of July, I had directed the company to lay by fifteen days full rations, in order that, if at any time we were obliged to abandon the expedition, we should have plenty to eat. Shortly after our departure on the 11th we received an express from the traders, stating that they were only one days march from us, and they had a Spanish escort with them, under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Viscarra.²⁰ I ordered a halt, pitched my tents, and waited for their arrival, which was on the next day, the 12th. When the colonel got nearly across the river, I had my line formed parallel to it, and received him with presented arms. I had sent my adjutant, on his landing, to escort him down to the line. After he had passed I dismissed the battalion, and received and welcomed him to the territory of the United States, and invited him and the secretary of state of Santa Fé to my tent, where we exchanged civilities and he left us awhile to see the pitching of his camp. That evening he visited some of the officers, and appeared to be pleased. The next day I had a short battalion drill, and after a company of light infantry drill. I was very anxious to show the character of the American troops, and, from his and the secretary's appearance, I succeeded. In the evening he had his troops formed, and invited me and my officers to accompany him. He took us down the line, they at present arms, and fired several time with a brass 4-pounder which he had. After that we went with him to his marquee, and partook of an excellent cup of chocolate and other refreshments. During that day I had shown him everything about my camp. He was particularly pleased with the cannon, the carriage, and implements, which were entirely different from his. He looked at it several times.

20. Lieut-Col. José Antonio Vizcarra was *gefe militar* of New Mexico from October, 1822, to February, 1825, and also *gefe politico* from November, 1822, to September, 1823. He was again appointed to the military command about August, 1829, and served till the summer of 1833. See the quarterly, *Old Santa Fe*, I, 275 and index. Further data on Vizcarra, given by Cooke, (*Scenes and Adventures in the Army*, pp. 84-88,) are quoted freely in Twitchell, *Leading Facts of N. M. Hist.*, II, 21-26.

He said he was very sorry that we did not come into Santa Fé. The secretary handed me the enclosed document (G) from the governor, in answer to mine of the 10th of July. The other that he alludes to was a letter of introduction to him by Mr. Bent.²¹ The documents marked H, P, T, are the returns and statements of his force, and of the caravan which he had under his command. The next morning (13th) we parted, he for Santa Fé, and I for this place, not without mutual professions of friendship, and hopes of seeing each other in the Spanish country next year. The caravan I received from the detachment amounted to about two hundred thousand dollars worth, probably of different kinds. One Spanish family, eight or ten other Spaniards, who were punished by their laws for having been born in old Spain, all of which, in my humble opinion, would have been destroyed and the people killed if it had not been for the Mexican escort. They were attacked, as it was, near the Semirone spring on their return, but the colonel, with his troops and Indians beat them off. He lost one captain and two privates killed of his command. The traders say that they killed eight Indians; but there are several stories about it. It is hard to know which to believe, but it is certain that they killed some. We travelled on with them under our protection until we parted, which was at the Little Arkansas.²² On the fifth or sixth day after we started our oxen began to fail, and we were obliged to leave some on the road every day until we got in. I cannot account for it, unless it was that hard night's drive across the Arkansas, or after the attack of the 3d of August, for we had to keep them yoked and tied to the wagon wheels every night until our return; and another thing is, that we had to diminish the extent of range from necessity. In fact, it was impossible to protect them any distance from camp.

21. This was undoubtedly Colonel Charles Bent, who was appointed first American governor in New Mexico, in 1846.

22. The place where the Santa Fe Trail crossed the Little Arkansas, was below Little River, in Rice County Kan., and was estimated by Gregg to be about 229 miles from Independence. Though narrow its steep banks and miry bottom made crossing bad. Wichita, Kan., is at its mouth.

We only got in with twenty-four yokes, and most of them could not have drawn another day. Our strong ground for the above reasons being correct is, that I let Mr. Bent have a yoke on the 10th of July, (that was not in those hard times) and he writes in that he went through to Santa Fé better than the mules; and he had sent them back to me in good order, but they were stolen or strayed in the mountains. I let Mr. Bent have them to try whether oxen in future, if we could get them, would answer, they are so much cheaper. One team of three yokes of oxen will not cost more than two mules. On the 8th of November, at night, got to the end of our journey at Cantonment Leavenworth.

I have the honor to be, with great respect and esteem, your obedient and humble servant.

B. RILEY, *Major United States Army commanding.*
Brigadier General Leavenworth.

From the above report of Major Riley, several conclusions may be drawn.

It is safe to assume, that had the traders carried out his instructions with regard to keeping a keen lookout, keeping together, in a country which they knew to be dangerous, there would, in all probability, have been no attack by the Indians. But the opportunity was too good to be lost on the part of the hostiles. The fact that the traders had left their escort behind them on the other side of the Arkansas River, and advancing as they evidently were in a loose formation, they were an easy prey to any band of hostiles in the vicinity.

Major Riley had given good advice, but was it heeded?

The fight of August 11th., would undoubtedly not have occurred except for the disregard of orders given Captain Pentland by Major Riley.

Between the lines of the report of this day's occur-

rence, can be read Major Riley's implication of cowardice on the part of Captain Pentland. Riley was undoubtedly a good officer, and a brave one, and one cannot but admire his vehemence in this matter.

According to Heitman's Historical Register, from which I have secured the records of the various officers mentioned in this article, Captain Pentland was dismissed from the Army April 22, 1830, probably as a direct result of this report.

(to be continued)

BIENNIAL REPORT
TO
THE GOVERNOR OF NEW MEXICO
1925-1926

Santa Fe, New Mexico, January 3, 1927.

HONORABLE RICHARD C. DILLON,
Governor,
Santa Fe, New Mexico.

Sir:

The Historical Society of New Mexico during the past biennium, 1925 and 1926, has prospered in its endeavors for the preservation of historical records and objects, in enlisting the interest of the public far and wide, in publishing the results of its historical research, in teaching history and inculcating patriotism. Its work has reached out to every portion of the State and at the same time it is building up a treasure house of inestimable value for the present and future generations. Every Commonwealth deems it a public duty and takes justifiable pride in preserving its historical records, some of them expending many times as much as New Mexico can afford, in order to maintain historical museums and societies. Yet, not another commonwealth has such a wealth of historical material, so splendid and continuous a history, so glorious a record of achievement. In its historical landmarks, in its history, New Mexico has an asset that is being capitalized to a greater extent with each year and today brings into the State thousands of visitors, untold treasure and has cen-

tered the attention of the world on this commonwealth, its people and its resources.

The membership of the Historical Society has more than doubled since the last biennial report. It can be multiplied several times during the next two years if the Society is given the comparatively small appropriation it asks for clerical and stenographic help, which has become the more necessary because of the increase in publication so advisable in order to give the world facts regarding New Mexico history and traditions. A year ago was begun the publication of the New Mexico Historical Review, a quarterly that won instant recognition and which is carrying the fame of New Mexico to the farthest corners of the earth. Its success is most gratifying and it has attracted contributors of eminence from other parts of the country, contributors who are delving into archives and chronicles to rescue from oblivion New Mexico history and records of much interest. Other States have such publications and the New Mexico Historical Review compares favorably with the best of them. None of the contributors are paid for their articles and the editors, with the President and the Secretary of the Society in charge, give their time and effort without cost to the state. In addition to the Quarterly, which is published in co-operation with the School of American Research, the Society has issued the customary number of historical monographs and pamphlets for which there is a continuing demand and which preserve for generations to come something of the record of the men and women who have made or are making history in the Southwest.

The historical exhibits have been completely rearranged during the past two years. As far as space and means permitted, an effort has been made to classify the exhibits, to arrange them chronologically and scientifically, to label them properly and to exclude such objects as do not bear on the history of the Southwest. When more room is available, it is planned to have one or more rooms of the Palace furnished in period style so that a complete visuali-

zation of life in early days may be brought to every visitor and especially to school children and the students of history. The cataloguing of the fine and large library to which many important additions are being made all the time, in the way of maps, manuscripts and books, has been completed. Such units as the historical library of the late Colonel Ralph E. Twitchell have been purchased. Catalogues of dealers in old books are scanned diligently and every once in a while a treasure is secured, so that now the historical library is one of which every New Mexican may well be proud. However, it is inadequately housed and difficult of access. In fact, all the libraries in the museum buildings should be brought together and given the care and attention of a professional librarian, one who would serve students and the general public, making known and securing more far-reaching use of the treasure house of New Mexicana and of historical, anthropological, archaeological and linguistic lore contained in the thousands of volumes. In its class it is unsurpassed by any library in the Southwest. The transfer of the archives from the office of the adjutant general to the State Museum and the return from the Congressional Library of the Spanish archives, have made the combined libraries a repository of original sources of great value not only to students of history but also to those interested in social sciences, in genealogical research and kindred pursuits. The fact that Secretary Lansing Bloom has been enabled to aid many veterans of Indian and other wars to obtain pensions to which they were rightfully entitled, and to aid many families to verify the records of service of some member, in itself has repaid the State many times the modest appropriation made for the maintenance of the work. These combined libraries also include the official record of the seventeen thousand and more men and women from New Mexico who served in the Great War. That this record is priceless and becomes more valuable each year, needs no argument. However, sufficient means should be provided to keep up the work so well begun by the Historical Service.

With a more liberal appropriation, many records and books bearing on the Southwest and its history could be rescued before they are irretrievably lost.

The Historical Society has added to its large number of portraits of Governors and other notables in New Mexico history, paintings by the artist, Gerald Cassidy; of Kit Carson; Juan Bautista de Anza, the Duke of Albuquerque and of Villagras. These works of art will be appreciated more and more as the years go by and as room is provided for more artistic and satisfactory display.

An important piece of work of the Historical Society, without cost to the State for supervision and handling, was the distribution of trophies of the Great War allotted to the State by the War Department. The variety of trophies, the complexity of local demands, made the task an intricate one, but we believe it was handled to the satisfaction of everyone. Every town and city of the State and every State institution, that had put in a request, now is in possession of trophies of the Great War that should be prized as a perpetual heritage. Too much praise cannot be given the Secretary, Mr. Bloom, for his conscientious and competent handling of this duty assigned to the Society by legislative act. His report is hereto appended.

The Historical Society has undertaken the placing of bronze tablets with the names of the fifty-one martyrs who gave their lives so that Christianity might be brought to the Indians in the Southwest. The tablets will be installed in the pediment of the Cross of the Martyrs on Cuma Heights, overlooking not only the Capital City but the ancient pueblo world as far west as Jemez, as far south as the Manzanos, east to the magnificent pinnacles of the Blood of Christ Range and north to Abiquiu Mountain and beyond. The dedication of these tablets is to take place on the evening of August 4, 1927.

As far as possible, regular monthly meetings of the Society have been held. Many of these were attended by persons of distinction from a distance. During the annual

convention of the New Mexico Educational Association, a Kit Carson exhibit by the Society drew thousands to the Historical Rooms. Members of the Society presented papers before various sections of the Convention. Every effort is being made at all times to be of assistance to teachers in the teaching of New Mexico history in the public as well as parochial and private schools of the State. At every meeting of the Society, one or more papers or talks of historical interest were given. Among these have been the following the past two years:

Hon. F. T. Cheetham

- "Laws of Spain in New Mexico"
- "First American Court at Taos"
- "Trial of the Assassins of Governor Bent"
- "Centenary of the Santa Fe Trail"
- "Los Comanches"

Col. R. E. Twitchell

- "Exhibit of English Documents from Cromwell's Time to the Days of George III"
- "De Vargas Papers"

Miss Blanche Grant

- "One Hundred Years Ago in Old Taos"

Fayette S. Curtis

- "The Arms Collections of the New Mexican Historical Society"
- "Baltazar de Obregon"
- "New Mexico War Trophies"
- "Spanish Arms and Armor in the Southwest"

Sylvanus G. Morley

- "Documents in Mexico City Appertaining to Early History of New Mexico"
- "Recent Discoveries in the Maya Region of Yucatan"

Lansing Bloom

- "Apache Campaign of 1880"
- "Expedition of Pedro Vial"
- "The Early Annals of the New Mexico Historical Society, 1859-1863"

Etienne B. Renaud

"Place of Man in Nature from Standpoint of Physical Anthropology"

Paul A. F. Walter

"John Mix Stanley, New Mexico's First Portrait Painter"

"Diary of E. E. Ayer"

"The Marmaduke Expedition"

"The First Meeting of the New Mexico Educational Association in 1886"

Father Theodosius Meyer

"Franciscan Martyrs in New Mexico"

Miss Bess McKinnan

"The Raton Toll Road"

Secretary Bloom has just returned from a lecture tour in the East and Middle West at which his theme was "Spaniard and Indian in the Southwest."

Two memorial meetings were held during the past two years, one for Colonel Ralph E. Twitchell, the President of the Society, whose death robbed New Mexico of its foremost historical writer and the Historical Society of a President who had during a few years given it wide fame; the other for Fayette S. Curtis, who was an indefatigable research worker in New Mexico history and who had given abundant promise of a brilliant career as a historian and writer. The death of Mrs. L. Bradford Prince, Col. W. M. Mills, ex-Governor W. E. Lindsey and Mr. Roberts Walker also deprived the Society of life members and generous friends.

The accessions of the Society during the past two years were many, most of them being by gift. The display of weapons was handsomely augmented by the Borrowdale Collection placed in the Society's care by the Museum of New Mexico and the School of American Research, and by the addition of war trophies, so that it is now the most complete in this part of the United States. A number of New Mexico newspapers continue to send the Society their pub-

lications. The files of periodicals possessed by the Society are of great value. It is hoped that adequate funds will be available to bind them substantially and sufficient room to make them accessible to visitors to the Library.

Exchanges are maintained with most of the Western historical magazines and with Government publications. Scattered throughout these are many interesting references - historical and otherwise - to New Mexico. These will be catalogued eventually, provided sufficient clerical assistance is provided from the means placed at the disposal of the Society. Many books from publishers and authors also come as donations to the Library. In fact, the Society is the recipient of many gifts, which otherwise would go to beneficiaries outside of the State.

A glance at the register maintained by the Society will bear evidence to the increasing number of visitors from all parts of the earth, who find the Museum and library of the Society of interest and who carry away with them impressions of New Mexico and its past that must redound to the credit and benefit of the Commonwealth and its people. Not less than thirty thousand people, it is estimated, view the historical collections each year.

One cannot express in money values the worth of the achievements of the Historical Society of New Mexico, but analysis will prove that, directly and indirectly, it has been the means of interesting people in the State who afterwards expended large sums in development or who became residents and citizens contributing mightily to the up building of the State. That it has raised New Mexico in the estimation of many thousands of Americans, is also certain. Quoting from the President's Inaugural address:

"It might be well at this time to set forth and emphasize briefly the objective that should be the goal of the Historical Society. For many years the Historical Society of New Mexico has done yeoman work under enthusiastic leadership, and its achievements are a matter of record, although, strange to say, that record is not nearly as complete as it should be. A historical society, so it has been

recently said, and I quote from an address of Director Arthur C. Parker of the Rochester Municipal Museum, 'is an organization devoting itself to the task of recording, preserving, interpreting and publishing historical records.' The history of our own times will have to be written some day, and for the sake of the future historian let us be faithful in preserving the official records of the present. It is indeed a pity that this Society does not have in its archives the official papers of the Governors of the State, and that such work as that of the Historical Service during the War is not being maintained now. The Spanish archives recently returned to Santa Fe are an example of how much more punctiliously the forefathers kept official records than we do. One of the objects of the Society, therefore, should be the recording of present day history, a most difficult task I admit, but in part realized by keeping up files of New Mexico newspapers and by gathering official documents. An effort should be made to obtain the official files of each State administration. Possibly, legislation might be had that would prevent the burning of official letters, such as the press reported after the death of President Harding. Of course, the records of our own meetings, memberships and acquisitions should be models, and I believe will be, henceforth.

"We have made a good start in publishing historical records, and it is my faith that henceforth this Society will always maintain a periodical publication such as the New Mexico Historical Review which will make available to all of those interested, both source material and the work of those who are writing Southwestern history. As a rule, historical publication is not profitable, and much interesting and valuable work has been lost for lack of publication.

"The indexing of the vast amount of historical material that this Society has gathered and preserved, and to which it is adding daily, has been begun in a scientific manner. That it should be continued and in much greater detail than the mere enumeration of titles of books and authors, is advisable. Much material of consequence never appears in book form. Again, in many a book is hidden material not suggested by title but which throws a flood of light upon a given historical topic. We already have volunteers who will undertake the indexing of files of New Mexico newspapers, a task that should prove most interesting.

"The accumulation of historical records makes necessary proper safekeeping of such archives. Unfortunately, the Historical Society does not command vaults or even

adequate library room. It is my hope that the next two years will see not only the building of a wing across the east end of the patio of the Palace of the Governors, but also the acquisition of the present Armory building and connection with the Public Library of the Santa Fe Woman's Board of Trade. By bringing together all the libraries, and by providing proper facilities for students and readers, something will have been achieved for the Commonwealth that will go far to make it known as a seat of culture. Fortunately, the buildings mentioned are so located that there are no insuperable difficulties in the way of providing adequate space and co-ordination at comparatively small outlay. A concerted effort in the next legislative assembly may bring about the much to be desired expansion and improvement. Imagine the east end of this venerable building extended to the walls of the Armory and that building included in the room available for the Historical Society, its library and archives and connected with the buildings that house the fine accumulation, not only of current literature, but of books and magazines of current history, travel and science. Let us make that one of our goals!

"Ordinarily, it is not the business of a Historical Society to maintain a museum, but force of circumstances has put the Historical Society into the museum business. Here is the distinction: 'The Historical Society is concerned with records and writings of and about men and events; the museum is concerned with exhibiting actual objects and explaining their relations and meanings.' A historical museum therefore is mainly concerned with the exhibition of objects that will illumine the history of the region covered. Fortunately, too, we now have the whole-hearted co-operation of the State Museum, which will make the task of maintaining a historical museum so much easier and more satisfactory. In time, I hope to see at least one room in this Palace fitted up in the style of the Spanish colonial days. As far as possible, we are arranging exhibits chronologically, so that a person entering the west end of the Palace will logically proceed from exhibits illustrating the culture of the earliest primitive days to the exhibits of Pueblo culture, thence to Spanish Colonial and American Occupation periods, the Great War and the present day, and thence into the Library where the student may find everything appertaining to New Mexico, a library such as Dr. J. A. Munk has collected for Arizona and at present housed in the Southwest Museum at Los Angeles.

Let New Mexico never lose its opportunity to possess the most complete collection of New Mexicana, such as Arizona has lost to California.

"The exhibits should be arranged scientifically and placed in harmonious cases and groups. At present, unfortunately again, our exhibits are too crowded, our exhibition cases have been picked up at random from bargain counters. Our labeling should be as precise and informative as that to be found in the best museums of the country. I propose that a beginning should be made at once that will result in all historical material being brought to the east end of the Palace, all ethnological material to the central portion, and that archaeological exhibits be confined to the west end of the Palace as far as possible; or, that a new building be provided for them and the entire Palace of the Governors be given to history and historical exhibits and library. Assurance is had that the Museum authorities will not only cooperate but will readily transfer, as they already have in part, historical material. The Pueblo Pottery Fund has been approached for the loan of some of its finest specimens to complete our pottery exhibits, and the Museum has given such cases as it could spare to be placed in the Pueblo pottery room. However, sooner or later, and we hope that it will be soon, the Museum should have an ethnological building for the display of pottery and other Indian artifacts and art. Can you not visualize a Museum of the Southwest, as is herewith suggested, which measures up to the best in the country, both scientifically as well as in interest and beauty, and that at the same time is as distinctive as the Palace in which it is located?

"Let us be courageous in declining objects offered us for exhibit that have nothing to do with New Mexico history or that are merely curios. We cannot hope to maintain a museum of natural history, or of industry, or of art, or even of archaeology. Nor do we want to maintain what one writer has characterized as 'disorderly collections of junk.' Quoting from a recent number of 'Museum Work:' 'Documents, maps, pictures and old manuscripts become almost forgotten, and an ungodly hodge-podge of good, bad and indifferent things - principally indifferent - assume great importance and their exhibit becomes the jealous concern of the historical society. Wander through the halls of one of the oldest historical societies in America, that in the metropolis itself, and behold Egyptian mummies, sacred bulls, Indian costumes, and other extra-limi-

tal material. One wonders what these things have to do with the history of Gotham. The time to standardize has come, the day of the curio cabinet has gone.'

"Fortunately, the Historical Society of New Mexico has but little material that is not of value, and that does not appertain to the history and culture of the Southwest. The fact that we have applications for membership from almost every state in the Union and even from abroad, attest to the interest and esteem in which this organization is held. In view of all this, should we not set ourselves a goal of a thousand members within the next two years? Surely, every person of education and culture in New Mexico owes it to himself or herself to be interested in what we are doing for the commonwealth, and we are justified in asking for their membership and support."

In conclusion, the President desires to acknowledge the great value to the Society and to the State of the co-operation given by the Museum of New Mexico and the School of American Research. Not only has the Director Dr. Edgar L. Hewett, placed at the service of the Society the time and work of its Secretary, Mr. Lansing Bloom, but also of the other members of the Museum and School staff. With their aid, exhibits have been classified, scientifically arranged and catalogued. With their aid, the libraries housed in the Palace of the Governors and the Art Museum are to be brought together. Possessions and exhibits of the Museum and School of greater historical interest than of archaeological or anthropological importance, have been placed in the care of the Society and added to its displays. Heat, janitor service and the supervision of the Museum superintendent have made the Historical Society rooms more comfortable and presentable. Best of all, there is now complete co-ordination of all activities, doing away with duplication, waste and embarrassment, and rendering to the State a service of increasing and priceless value.

Three recommendations the President would make to the Governor and Legislative Assembly:

A statute providing that a copy of every official re-

port, document and publication be placed in the historical library.

A more liberal appropriation to permit the Society to perform for the benefit of the State and its people the functions and duties of a well-conducted historical society and museum.

The building of a wing to the Palace of the Governors extending across the east end of the Palace patio, from the present Museum building to the National Guard Armory, providing vaults for manuscripts and precious gifts, and room for library consolidation together with adequate and well-lighted reading room.

Respectfully submitted,

PAUL A. F. WALTER

President.

TROPHIES OF THE GREAT WAR

The last state legislature made an appropriation of \$1,500 for the receiving and distribution of the war trophies which had been allocated by the war department to the State of New Mexico, and the officers of the Historical Society were asked to handle this matter for the state.

As soon as the appropriation was available, which was in the early spring of 1926, letters were sent out to ascertain where the trophies were desired, and distribution was made upon the basis of the replies received.

The chief difficulty was with regard to the major pieces of artillery. A total of twenty-five were asked for, which had to be satisfied with only six which had been given to New Mexico. Requests for additional pieces were unsuccessful, and the six pieces were placed as follows:

- 2 minnewerfers with mounts, 250 millimeter E. Las Vegas and the State University
- 1 heavy howitzer, mounted, 150 millimeter Military Institute
- 1 short howitzer, mounted, 105 millimeter State College

- 1 light field gun, mounted, 77 millimeter Santa Fe
- 1 minnewerfer, mounted, 76 millimeter Silver City

The balance of the trophies, 683 items in all, were distributed to the above named places and also to Dawson, Tucumcari, El Rito, Bernalillo, Gallup, Belen, Socorro, Willard, Carrizozo, Alamogordo, Artesia, and Carlsbad. In July the chief of ordnance advised the Historical Society that an additional lot of small trophies had been assigned to New Mexico. These were received and distributed in October to the above centers. Some duplicate trophies, however, have been held by the Historical Society in case other towns send in belated requests for small collections.

The entire lot consisted chiefly of machine guns of various types, rifles, sword and sabers, Uhlan lances, helmets and helmet ornaments, canteens, gas masks, brass cartridge cases of different sizes, steel projectiles of two sizes, grenade throwers, trench lanterns, wooden and metal ammunition boxes, "Gott mit Uns" buckles, and a number of other items.

Besides the piece of field artillery for Santa Fe, which was placed on the Catron School grounds, a representative collection of trophies was kept for exhibition in the State Museum.

This collection includes:

- 1 trench mortar, German, 57 millimeter
- 1 grenade thrower
- 1 aircraft machine gun, German Maxim
- 2 machine guns, German Maxim, model 1908-15
- 1 antitank rifle, German Mauser, 13 millimeter
- 1 gas mask
- 1 officer's sword
- 4 enlisted men's sabers
- 1 brass cartridge case, 210 m/m howitzer
- 4 brass cartridge cases, 150 m/m howitzer
- 1 brass cartridge case, 173 m/m railway
- 8 steel helmets
- 1 Uhlan helmet

- 2 Uhlan lances
- 5 canteens, infantry and medical
- 1 grenade, potato masher, dummy
- 10 steel belt boxes, machine gun
- 6 wooden belt boxes, machine gun
- 1 belt-loading machine
- 1 coffee or tea container
- 1 trench lantern
- 1 fuse, inert
- 1 flexible saw, leather case
- 20 belt buckles, "Gott mit Uns"
- 2 eagle ornaments, helmet
- 84 side ornaments for helmet, 3 kinds
- 6 projectiles, 173 m/m
- 3 projectiles, 150 m/m
- 1 Spanish express automatic pistol
- 1 Mauser automatic (shoulder piece serves as wooden holster)
- 1 piece of body armor
- 29 bayonets, plain and saw-tooth
- 62 rifles and carbines

These trophies, and others which have been received at the State Museum by gift or loan from Dr. S. D. Swope, Miss Helen Straughn and others, were mostly catalogued by the late F. S. Curtis, Jr., headmaster of Los Alamos Ranch School. As already stated, many items are duplicates, but the miscellaneous lot of rifles and carbines shows a surprising variety when classified by type, arsenal and model. One example even of Japanese make has been identified.

So far as present case and floor space allow, the collection has been installed in the War Memorial room of the Old Palace and in the ethnological room of the Historical Society. In the latter room also are the Borrowdale collection of weapons and the similar collection belonging to the Historical Society.

LANSING B. BLOOM

NECROLOGY

MAJOR GEORGE H. PRADT

Major George H. Pradt, a veteran of the New Mexico plains in the early 70s, passed away in death at his Laguna Pueblo home early Sunday morning, January 9, 1927, after an illness extending over a period of several years, at an advanced age in life —80 years and over, and it was a most active, exciting life.

George H. Pradt, in after years known as Major Pradt, in after years known as Major Pradt, who was a well-known surveyor and civil engineer, came to New Mexico as early as 1869, with a commission in his pocket to make a survey of the Navajo Indian reservation for the national government, and that survey was harassed by a number of hair-breadth escapes from scalping knives, not only from small roving bands of renegade Navajoes but from bands of marauding Apaches, who were then on the warpath.

However, Mr. Pradt, with his force of surveyors and engineers, found a warm friend in the Navajo chief, Manuelito, and thru his friendship for the whites the Pradt party completed the survey of that reservation. He carried his report back to Washington, where it was used in after years on a number of important occasions in the settlement of disputes.

In 1872 he returned to New Mexico, located at Santa Fe, and soon thereafter became attached to the territorial surveyor general's office. For the four years he was connected with the surveyor general's office, he was principally engaged in government surveying and civil engineering of public lands, reservations and the like, and on the completion of the survey of the Laguna Pueblo Indian reservation, for the government at Washington and the archives of the surveyor general's office at Santa Fe, he took up his permanent residence at Laguna and married into that pueblo of Indians.

For a term or two he was governor of the Laguna village, and did much toward cementing a lasting friendship between the invaders from the states (the whites) and the Pueblo Indians.

The deceased was elected surveyor and civil engineer of Valencia county during the regime of Hon Tranquilino Luna, who was then in the congress of the United States from New Mexico, and besides acting for that county did quite a bit of private surveying and general engineering work for others.

He was often called into conferences by Pitt Ross and other early-day surveyors and civil engineers of Bernalillo county. He was also engaged in the cattle business, and was successful, but retired from this business, devoting most of his time thereafter to surveying and civil engineering, which he had mastered, and to general merchandise and post trading, he being connected with Walter and Robert Marmon in this business.

George H. Pradt's military career is a fine one. During the Civil war he served as corporal in Company A. 49th Wisconsin Volunteer infantry, and also company K of the 40th Wisconsin Volunteer infantry participating in many engagements along the Mississippi river in Tennessee and farther south, principally against bush whackers.

When the G. K. Warren post, G. A. R., was organized in Albuquerque in the early 80s, Mr. Pradt joined the local post, and altho a resident of Laguna he always maintained pleasant relations with his old army comrades whenever he came to Albuquerque to attend post meetings.

The deceased served in the New Mexico militia, besides organizing a company of Laguna Indian soldiers to hold the village against marauding Apaches and Navajoes, and was first lieutenant in Company I, Second regiment of infantry in 1882; after this he was an officer in the First and Second regiments of cavalry. New Mexico militia, up to 1890.

In 1892 he was appointed major and inspector of rifle

practice on the territorial governor's staff, and served two terms on the staff in these capacities. During these exciting early days he was the efficient deputy United States marshal out west, and was justice of the peace, in the name of the United States, for several terms at Laguna.

Major Pradt was born in Pennsylvania, and when quite young was taken to Wisconsin by his parents. From that state he came to New Mexico.—W. T. McCreight.

The following report of Major George H. Pradt, is published through the courtesy of the Hon. Amado Chaves, an old friend of Major Pradt:

REPORT OF OPERATIONS DURING THE APACHE CAMPAIGN
OF 1885

Laguna N. M. July 10th 1885

Lieut. Col. W. G. Marmon,

1st Cavalry Regiment N. M. V. M.

Commanding Battalion

Sir:

I have the honor to submit the following report of operations of the troops under my command, during the month of June of the present year. Pursuant to orders, on May 30th. I went to Grants Station, on the A. & P. R. R., where I met Troops Land K from San Mateo, San Rafael, commanded respectively by Capt. Dumas Provencher and First Lieutenant Ireneo L. Chaves. I assumed command and after outfitting with provisions, pack animals, ammunition etc., marched on the evening of June 2nd. to San Rafael, 4 miles, where thanks to the liberal spirit of the citizens, the command was provided with comfortable quarters for men and horses.

The route from San Rafael was southeasterly over a good wagon road across the Lava bed, thence along the east edge of the Lava bed to the Cebollita ranch, a distance of 25 miles: Here the command found wood, water and grass in abundance. From the Cebollita ranch I marched with a detail of ten men and two officers by trail across the mesa, 12 miles, to the Cebolla ranch, for the purpose of ascertaining if there were any renegade Navajos in the vicinity; the main body of the command going with the pack train by wagon road around the mesa, about 20 miles: I arrived at Cebolla at 8 a. m. on the morning of June 4th.,

and found 8 herders with a family of women and children; The herders were all armed and on the lookout and were expecting an attack from Apaches at any moment.

At this place two men were killed and a woman and child taken prisoners during the last raid of Victorio's Apaches. A number of Navajos were with the Apaches at the time and took part in the murders and outrages that were committed, as appeared by the testimony of the woman, who escaped after about a year's captivity.

At 4 p. m., the main command arrived and after detaching a sergeant and seven men as a guard for the Cebolla ranch and to do additional scouting in the vicinity, I marched south over a good trail about 10 miles and went into camp, finding good wood and grass but no water; on the 5th the command marched by the Estacado spring to the Belleville ranch on the Alamocita creek about 22 miles southeasterly, over a rough trail, passing a good spring about half way, and arrived at the Belleview ranch at 4 p. m. and reported for further orders. On the 6th, I marched over a good wagon road ten miles, south, to the Perea spring near the summit of the Gallinas ranch, where I established camp, finding abundance of wood water and grass. From this point scouting parties were sent out, northeast to the Alamo spring, where 6 or 7 families of Navajos are farming; south to the San Augustine plains and southwest to Baldwin's ranch in the Datil range.

A number of settlers leaving this part of the new country had left their homes, and among those remaining a feeling of insecurity prevailed, and many rumors were current as to the movements of the Apache. On the 10th, Capt. Provencher while scouting on the plains south of the Gallinas ranch, found the trail of 4 mounted horses going north towards the mountains; he followed this trail until it was lost in the rough ground, and the next day two scouting parties under Capt. Provencher and Lieut. Chaves were sent out to find out if possible who the parties were; at the same time reports were brought in to camp, that a party of four men had visited several places in the vicinity at night, returning immediately to the roughest part of the mountains; The search for this party was kept up until I was satisfied that they had left that part of the country. I afterward learned that they had gone north towards the A. & P. R. R., and one of them a renegade Indian from Laguna, had stolen a horse near Cubero Station, and gone in to the San Mateo mountains; He was pursued by some

of the people of the neighborhood and killed, and the horse recovered; Before dying he boasted that, with his companions, he had committed depredations and murders in several localities in the vicinity of the San Mateo range southwest of Fort Craig and in the Black Range and further west; taking advantage of the Apache outbreak to make a raid on their own account. From these circumstances I think it very probable that the men said to have been murdered at or near the Cuchillo Negro, were killed by this party, and that the other depredations further west, and attributed to the Apaches, were committed by them.

Scouting parties were sent also to the Trinchera on the Rito Quemado road, and afterwards the main portion of the command was taken to Magdalena to have the horses shod. At the latter place I met Colonel Blake of the 2nd. Cavalry, N. M. V. M., who had recently returned from a scout to the Mogollon mountains. I learned from him that no traces of Apaches had been seen in the vicinity of Magdalena or on the plains west and south from there.

After returning from Magdalena, scouting parties were sent out south and west to various points but no traces of Apaches were found.

On the 21st. a letter from Adjutant General to yourself was brought to me by a Laguna Indian courier, directing you to march the battalion to the Railroad and disband.

I sent four men from Troop I. to find your camp and deliver this letter, and as I was uncertain where you could be found, decided to move at once with my command. Accordingly the several scouting parties were called in and on the evening of the 25th. the command moved north about 4 miles and camped. On the 26th. the trail to Acoma was taken and on the 29th. the command reached Grants Station. The Adjutant General was notified as soon as possible of this movement and he approved it by a letter of the 23rd. inst. The command was disbanded on the 30th. at Grants Station.

I wish to express my thanks to Capt. Dumas Provencher and to Lieuts. Ireneo L. Chaves, Jose Leon Telles and Roman L. Baca, for the faithfulness and zeal with which they performed the various duties of the campaign and for the pleasant social relations that existed between us throughout the expedition.

My thanks are due also to the men for their ready obedience to orders, their intelligent co-operation in all movements and their cheerful endurance of the hardships

attending a campaign in a rough and comparatively desert country.

Very Respectfully,

Geo. H. Pradt.

Major, 1st. Regt. N. M. V. M.

Family records show Major Pradt's descent from Isaac Stearn born in Yorkshire, England, about 1600, who came over in the Ship *Arabella* with Gov. Winthrop in 1630 and settled in Watertown, Massachusetts.

Major Pradt was born April 28, 1864, in Jersey Shore, Lycoming County, Pennsylvania.

Military Record.

In the spring of 1864 he enlisted in the 40th. Wisconsin Infantry to serve 100 days, (Emergency troops) serving as a private and corporal. His company was made up of school boys. The Regiment was stationed at Memphis, Tennessee, where it did picket scout and train guard duty. In August they fought against General Forrest and captured his two gun battery. Pradt was slightly injured by a piece of shell.

In February, 1865, he enlisted in the 49th. Wisconsin Infantry as a private but was on detached (clerical) duty the whole time. The regiment was stationed at Rolla, Missouri, on guard and scout duty. Later it was stationed at St. Louis, awaiting orders to go with General Sheridan to Mexico.

In New Mexico, Pradt served as 1st. lieutenant and captain of the Laguna Indian Scouts (Militia); afterwards as major and lieutenant colonel in a New Mexico cavalry regiment. He spent one month in command of two troops of cavalry in the Geronimo Campaign, also scouted at various times after Apaches and train robbers. From 1877 to 1887 he was major on the governor's staff at various times. Dates of commissions in The Volunteer Militia of New Mexico:

1 Under Administration of L. A. Sheldon.

April 10, 1882—First Lieutenant, Co. "I," 2d Regt.

February 10, 1883,—Captain Co. "I", 2d Regt.

October 1, 1883—Major, 1st Cavalry.

2 Under Administration of E. G. Ross.
November 10, 1885—Lieutenant Colonel.

3 Under Administration of L. Bradford Prince.
August 24, 1890—Captain Co. "C," First Regt.
August 8, 1892—Major on Governor's Staff as Inspector
of Rifle Practice.

4 Under Administration of W. T. Thornton.
July 14, 1893—Major on Governor's Staff as Inspector
of Rifle Practice.

Civilian Appointments in New Mexico:

October 22, 1881—United States Deputy Surveyor for Dis-
trict of New Mexico.

August 28, 1885—Justice of the Peace, Valencia County.

July, 1890—Census Enumerator, Pueblo of Zuñi.

April 30, 1890—United States Deputy Land Surveyor, Dis-
trict of New Mexico.

September 13, 1897—United States Deputy Marshal.

November 17, 1898—United States Deputy Mineral Sur-
veyor.

July 21, 1905—Notary Public.

November 2, 1907—Court Commissioner, second Judicial
District of New Mexico.

July 10, 1909—Notary Public.

Major Pradt also served as county surveyor, and held
various other county appointments.

P. A. F. W.

REVIEWS AND NOTES

St. Francis and Franciscans in New Mexico. By Rev. Theodosius Meyer, O. F. M., (The Museum Press, Santa Fe, 1926) 44 pp., ill., \$0.50. This booklet has been a labor of love on the part of Father Theodosius, based upon extensive reading and study, not only of the numerous books already published upon the life of St. Francis, but also upon voluminous old church records of New Mexico. The author's purpose has been to give a sympathetic sketch of the foun-

der of this great order and an analysis of his character and spirit which inspired his followers to their heroic labors in the Southwest, as well as in other parts of the world. With this background, Father Theodosius then gives what data he has been able to gather, meager in some cases and yet illuminative, regarding the 51 Franciscan missionaries of New Mexico who suffered martyrdom during the period from 1542 to 1731. Father Theodosius has done a real service in this piece of historical research, both in the individual sketches and in the two tabulations of the 51 martyrs at the close.

When the massive "Cross of the Martyrs" (which overlooks *La Villa Real de la Santa Fe de San Francisco* from the eminence north of the city) was erected some years ago, this information — even the list of their names — was not available. Bronze tablets carrying the 51 names have been ordered and are to be placed on the Cross this summer, and the Historical Society hopes to secure funds sufficient also to place a flood-light which will illuminate it not only for residents but for travellers many miles out on the highways from Las Vegas and Albuquerque.

The total cost will be about \$500.00, and this amount is to be secured by the sale and distribution of this special publication, as well as by contributions. Orders for one or more copies, and contributions, should be sent to the Historical Society, Santa Fe, New Mexico. This special fund, at this writing has only \$42.50, and promptness on the part of those who wish to participate will be appreciated.

L. B. B.

CUSTODIAN OF PUBLIC ARCHIVES

New Mexico is one of the few states which have hitherto made no provision for proper care of their public archives. The following act, passed unanimously by house and senate in the recent legislature and signed by the governor, will be of interest to members of the Society and students of the Southwest. Unfortunately another measure which would have enable the State Museum and the Historical Society to establish a unified library was vetoed

by Governor Dillon, so that requests for transfer of public archives must be seriously limited for the present. However, it may be possible to make a beginning in this important service to the state and to historical students.

HOUSE BILL No. 338

(introduced by R. L. Baca, Clement Hightower, Alvan N. White, F. T. Cheetham, and O. A. Larrazolo)

A N A C T

To Provide for Care of Valuable but Non-current Public Records

Be it enacted by the Legislature of the State of New Mexico:

Section 1. The Historical Society of New Mexico is hereby made the official custodian and trustee for the State of New Mexico of the public archives of whatever kind which may be transferred to it from any public office of state, county, city, or otherwise.

Section 2. For the purpose of safe custody, better preservation and historical study of such archives, any state, county, or other official shall transfer to the Historical Society of New Mexico, upon its request and in its capacity as trustee and custodian for the State, any non-current records, documents, original papers, manuscripts, newspaper files or printed books not specifically required by law to be retained in the office of such official as a part of the public records.

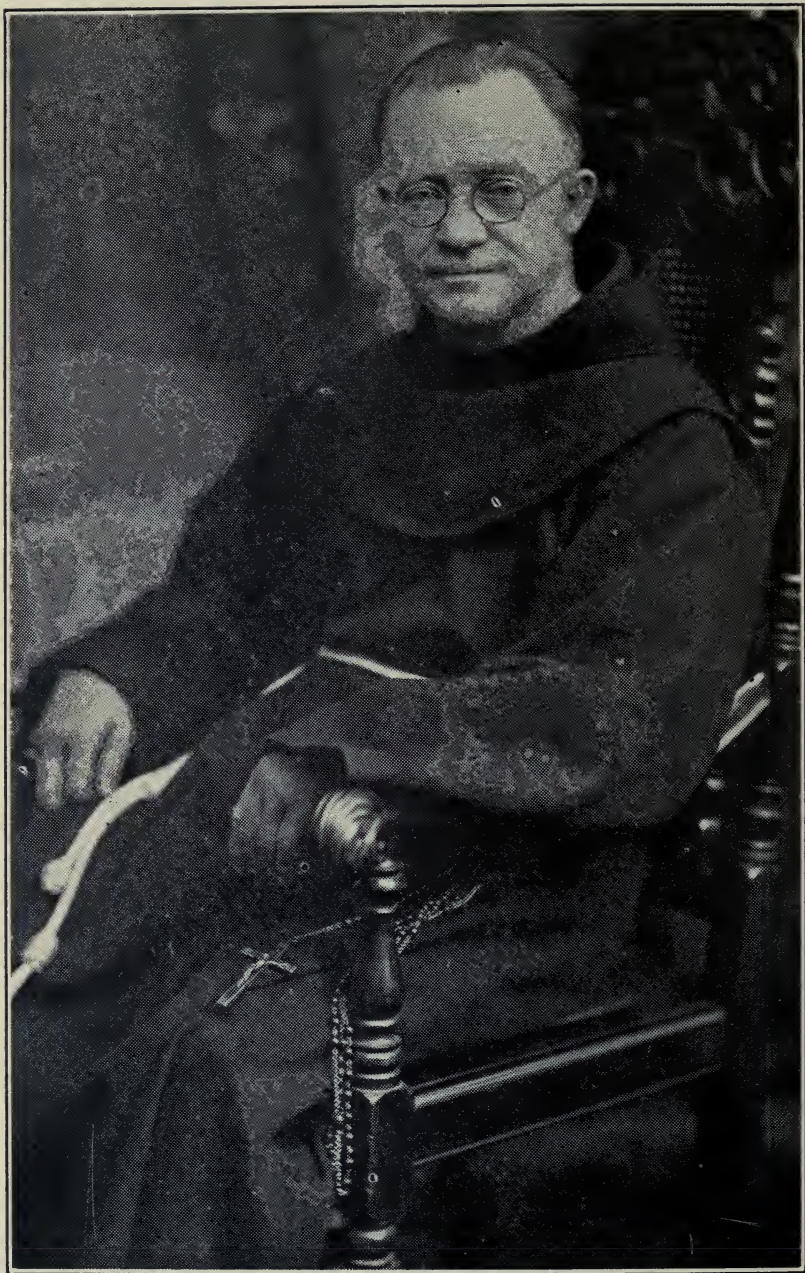
Section 3. On behalf of the State of New Mexico and its trustee, the Historical Society of New Mexico, the state attorney general may replevin any papers, books, correspondence, etc., which were formerly part of the records or files of any public office in the Territory or State of New Mexico.

Section 4. Custodianship by the Historical Society of New Mexico shall be legal as well as physical. After such transfer of any records or other material, photostatic or transcript copies thereof, certified by the secretary or other authorized representative of the Historical Society, shall have all the force and effect as if made by the official originally in custody of them.

ERRATUM

Pg. 134, line 10, *read*:

"order to make the most of the new discovery, Father Esco-"



REV. ELIGIUS KUNKEL

Rector of Saint Francis Cathedral, Santa Fe, who was Drowned while
Seeking to Rescue a Girl of His Parish

NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW

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No. 3

THE LAST LEGAL FRONTIER

In the year 1926 sesquicentennials, centennials, semi-centennials and other similar anniversaries were celebrated thruout the land with vim and éclat, but the seventy-fifth anniversary of the conquest by The Common Law of England of its last frontier on the continent of these United States passed with little notice.

It was on the 12th day of July, 1851, that the legislature of the newly organized Territory of New Mexico adopted the following provision:

"In criminal cases, the common law, as recognized by th United States and the several states of the Union, shall be the rule of practice and decision."

At that time the Territory of New Mexico included what is today the State of Arizona. Thus with a stroke of the pen were abolished ideas of law that had maintained themselves in the remote country from the earliest days of the Spaniards, and thus fell the last obstacle to the sweep of the Common Law of England over the territory of the United States. The conquest had commenced on the eastern shores where the settlers found no law of the country available for their civilization. It had swept west with the emigrants, across the prairies and the Mississippi. Nowhere had it encountered an existing body of law that might claim equality in refinement. In Louisiana the civil code of France and of Spain had been in use prior to the Louisiana Purchase. In New Mexico and California the civil law of Spain was well established when the Mexican War

severed those territories from Mexico. But nowhere in the West or in the Rocky Mountain states had there been settlements of sufficient size or importance and stability to require more than the law of might and of self-protection. In California state government had been erected with all the paraphernalia of the accepted American manner, and at the time when the territorial legislature of New Mexico established the common law as the rule of practice and decision the state courts of California were already deciding legal disputes by that standard. New Mexico was therefore the last frontier of the Common Law. In view of the fact that the treaty of peace with Mexico was then but three years of age, that before this time the bitterest feeling had prevailed between the two peoples, that the Mexican law, its theories and ideals, were quite distinct from the logic of the English Common Law, it is interesting to delve into the past and discover the manner in which the newly made American citizens adapted themselves to the new conception of law. From all records they did very well indeed, even though it is a fact that the spirit of the northern law has always remained somewhat strange to this southern people and few of its public men have been able to grasp clearly that which de Montesquieu has so aptly called "*L'esprit des Lois*."

In the first year of the new territorial government there were three judicial districts established in the territory, which embraced nine counties. The counties of the southern tier were Bernalillo, Valencia, Socorro and Doña Ana and their boundaries ran from the state line of California east to the state line of Texas a distance of over 600 miles. It was a sparsely settled country with villages along the course of the Rio Grande and a few pueblos in the mountains. The Third Judicial District covered approximately 120,000 square miles and most of this immense territory was a wilderness almost unknown. The circuit which Abraham Lincoln followed was not to be compared with the circuit of the Third Judicial District, which had as seats of its court Albuquerque, Tomé, Socorro and

Mesilla. All of these then were little villages of adobe, one-story houses of dried clay. It took over two weeks to travel from Tomé in the Kingdom of Valencia (as it was known) to Mesilla on the Rio Grande near the Paso del Norte. When the court went south it had to cross a dry hot desert known as the Jornada del Muerto (journey of death) and the country all along was infested with hostile Apache Indians.

That under such circumstances any records whatever were kept is remarkable, and that they were not lost on these journeys is providential. They are still almost complete, and a peek into the dusty manuscripts throws interesting shadows and lights on the days when the Common Law of Fair England assumed sway over the swarthy inhabitants of the Rio Bravo del Norte.

On the docket of the court for the County of Valencia cause No. 5 has left a record in the flourishing Spencerian hand of its clerk, Henry Winslow. It is the kind of a hand which Edgar Allen Poe would probably have dismissed as a purely clerical one, but it is as exact as a steel engraving. It is preserved in an excellent state, and tells the story of the bloody crime of Felipe Garcia, whose name in the indictment was spelled in the nearest Anglican approach to the Castilian spelling as "Phillipi Garcia," an *idem sonans* which was not questioned by the defense.

This was probably the first murder case tried under the new order as it was disposed of at the April term of court, 1852, or a few months after the establishment of the county's borders by the legislature. True there had been trials before that, but they were practically under martial law and under the Kearny Code which was a temporary code created by Gen. Kearny in order to meet the exigencies of the moment.

The crime was atrocious according to the indictment, which was presented by a Grand Jury not one of whom could speak English and who were utter strangers to the stilted language of the Common Law.

That Phillipi Garcia, late of the County of Valencia, laborer, not having the fear of God before his eyes but being moved and seduced by the instigation of the Devil, on the Twenty-third day of April, in the year of our Lord, One thousand Eight Hundred and fifty-two—at Tomé—upon Thadeus E. C. S. Canter with a certain large stick of no value—two mortal wounds three inches in length and one in depth—and with a certain case knife, made of iron and steel of the value of fifty cents—the throat of the said Thadeus E. C. S. Canter-feloniously wilfully and of his malice aforethought did strike and cut—and—give unto said Thadeus E. C. S. Canter two mortal wounds of the length of two inches and of the depth of five inches—of which said mortal wounds the said Thadeus E. C. S. Canter languished and languishingly did live for three hours and did die, contrary etc.

Justice was swift in those days, even if the law was obscure to the jurors, even if the instructions of the judge, the argument of the counsel, and perhaps some of the evidence had to be translated into the Spanish language, using terms that were only vaguely comprehended by the jury. The indictment was returned on the 27th day of April, on the 29th of April the wretch was tried, according to the Act of Congress establishing the territory, by a jury “of his peers and the law of the land,” and on the same date the jury returned its verdict into court. It was written on a mere slip of paper, by an illiterate hand in characters barely legible:

“We the jouro find Felipe Garsilla gilte of murder and worthery of deth.”

James Sullivan the foreman was probably a halfbreed.

On the same day the convicted man was sentenced to be hanged by the neck until he be dead on the 25th day of May, 1852, at high noon. The clerk, with his stencilled handwriting issued to the sheriff on that very day the writ of execution. Lacking an official seal he certifies that he has annexed his own private seal, and signs with a flourish.

The United States of America
District of New Mexico
Third Judicial District Court
County of Valencia

April Term
1852

To The Sheriff of the County of Valencia
Greeting

Whereas the Grand Jury of Valencia County having
at the April Term a^d 1852 of and aforesaid Court
being and held at the Town of Tome in said County
of Valencia of the Territory aforesaid on Tuesday
the 27th day of April a^d 1852 of and said April
Term returned a true bill of indictment against
Felipe Garcia for the murder of Thaddeus B. S.
Carter, to which said charge the said Garcia
plead Not Guilty, and whereas a jury having been
duly sworn and empanelled on Thursday the 29th day
of April a^d 1852, returned by that Foreman James
Sullivan the following verdict:

That the Jurors find Felipe Garcia Guilty of
Murder and nothing of Death

James Sullivan

Foreman of the Jury

And whereas the said Felipe Garcia was after the
Verdict of said Jury on the day aforesaid delivered
to the Hon. Horace Mendenhall Presiding Judge of the
Third Judicial District Court of the United States for
the District of New Mexico, to

Be delivered into the Custody of the Sheriff of the
County of Valencia
And that he be well guarded and securely
confin'd and that the Sheriff of the County of
Valencia shall on the Twenty fifth day of May
a^d 1852 at 12 O'clock noon hang the said Felipe
Garcia by the Neck until he be dead; and
may God have mercy on his soul

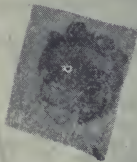
all of which appear upon the records of our
land.

There are hereby returned to you your land and
several copies of the said title papers and
on the 29th day of May A.D. 1852 at 12
o'clock noon you are having the said title papers
in the week month be be done.

I have not yet had in the first day
of my first term of our a second copy of the
papers and then this week and then until this
land has been shall have executed the same

Witness the Honorable Manuel Presiding
Judge of the United States District Court
at San Francisco the 29th day of April in the
year of Our Lord Eighteen hundred
and fifty two.

2 Henry W. Foster



U.S. of the United States District Court
for the Third Judicial District of the
Territory of New Mexico

And the private seal the
official seal being provided

Retorno y le da su Complimiento Colgando a la
 Dignidad del presente hasta que muris y despus
 fue puesto su cuerpo debajo de la tierra en
 este dia 25 de Mayo A.D. 1852 en Horn a las
 12 de este dia off el Regimiento de la Parroquia.

Don Juan Caballero
 [Signature]

and the same find M. J. Casilla y de
 of [unclear] and [unclear] as well
 James Sullivan person of
 the same

and the same [unclear] and [unclear]
 [unclear] and [unclear]

James Sullivan
 and
 M. J. Casilla

And on the back of the writ appears in Spanish the return of the sheriff which is translated as follows:

Returned and executed in accordance by hanging the defendant by the neck until he died and then his body was put under the ground this the 25th day of May, A. D. 1852, in Tomé at the hour of 12 of this day in the cemetery of the parish.

Lorenzo Labadi, Sheriff

Two other defendants at the same term of court escaped the penalty for larceny of "one hundred thirty nine Mexican Silver Dollars of the value of One Hundred Thirty Nine Dollars of currency of the United States." The men had been bound over by one José Vigil, who styled himself "Alcalde del Condado de Valencia," an office which had been abolished by the Congressional Act establishing the Territory, but a name which was so burdened with tradition, power and custom that it was eliminated only slowly. The jury rendered a long verdict:

We, those of the jury, have unanimously agreed in the cause which is placed in our hands as jurors to judge the cause of Carlos Sanchez against the Territory of New Mexico in which we find him without guilt.

A longwinded and dilatory way to tell the trembling defendant that he is not guilty. He did not know it until the last two words of this ponderous recital.

The court then discharged the jointly indicted but not tried co-defendant José Quintana and the clerk's notes read:

"Quintana arraigned and sentenced by the court to go free."

An agreeable sentence.

That in those early days the merchants took good care to protect themselves against peddlers is shown by the fact that in 1853 the docket showed three prosecutions for "trading without a *lincese*."

No. 11 on the docket was a contempt case against a

juror for not appearing at the proper time. In view of the fact that the county was 600 miles long and one hundred miles wide such failure would seem to have been excusable and perhaps the court was lenient. At any rate it does not appear that the man was fined or imprisoned; one can not doubt that this newly made American, Miguel Lucero by name, felt relieved at escaping the majesty of the "Ingles" law.

The territorial form of government had not been long established when the smarter natives began to realize its possibilities. The office of probate judge became the most sought after political office because its jurisdiction over crimes, estates and other matters gave the incumbent of this office great power. It is still the one office which the politicians of both parties in all counties of Mexican population consider the property of the Mexican constituency. The second cause on the civil docket of Valencia Kingdom was an election contest between Francisco Sanches and José Felipe Castillo for this office. The plaintiff recovered judgment for the office and his costs which amounted to the sum \$153.09 for which execution was issued and returned satisfied. Considering the emoluments of the office, its power in the county, the opportunities for making money which it offered, this sum does not appear high as a gamble by the defendant in trying to keep an office for which he was evidently defeated, whether honestly or not is, of course, not known.

That the power of the office was easily abused appears from the case of the Territory *vs.* this same successful contestant in which he was charged with wilful maladministration of office only a short time after his contest was decided in his favor. The indictment recites that the defendant fined Filomeno Sanches \$50.00 for having sold goods and merchandise without a license and that in so doing the probate judge acted "utterly disregarding the law and the evidence in said cause." It seems likely that Filomeno was a political opponent of the probate judge who was "getting his" for that crime, and that the U. S. district

attorney was a political opponent of the probate judge and a partisan of Filomeno's friends. That is the way politics ran in those days, and for many years thereafter.

There are still in New Mexico occasional outbursts of race feeling, and the race issue is the most discussed and the most dreaded in politics. It is therefore not strange that in 1852 only three years after the peace treaty was signed it should have been unhealthy for an American to get into difficulty with a Mexican and remain the victor. This is what happened to one Charles Fry. According to his motion for a continuance he killed a man in self defense, a native of one of the villages in the Manzano Mountains, who, he alleged was a notoriously bad character, who had threatened to kill the defendant and would have killed him, had not the defendant been quicker on the draw. The only witness was one James Cummings who lived 50 miles away in the mountains and could not come because his wife had just been delivered of a child. Cummings' letter to District Attorney Ashurst recites that if a doctor were first sent by the court he would come "as quick as a fleet horse will take me." It took two days to get this letter to the court where it was read in open session, whereupon the defendant's motion was granted and on habeas corpus he was released in one thousand dollars bond. There was then no statutory bail, but the courts uniformly fixed bond on habeas corpus in murder cases at one thousand dollars. The bondsmen of Charly Fry evidently got worried for in October, 1854, they surrendered him. He stayed in jail probably but a little while, because not long after on November 8th a warrant was issued for his apprehension. However, the defendant evidently did not like the looks of the special venires he had seen at the April term and the sheriff returned the warrant "non est inventus." In 1856 there was another warrant and after that the record is silent. Charles Fry had probably sought safety among his own people in "The States."

The first appeal from a conviction for crime did not reach the Territorial Supreme Court until January Term,

1855, and the first appeal in a murder case, of which there is any record, did not reach the court until January Term, 1857. This appeal deserves especial mention because it was from a conviction for murder in the fifth degree, though it does not appear from the decision just what the elements of this degree were. However, the court set an example which might well be followed in this day in the courts of certain states, by holding that where there was evidence of ill-will between the defendant and the deceased and that when the parties were about 35 yards apart the deceased "took his gun from his shoulder, as if to offend the defendant," but did not point it at him, there was no justification for the killing. Somewhat different from the appeal to the hip pocket movement which a noted minister of the Gospel in the South recently invoked in defense of a killing.

But this scarcity of criminal cases in the first few years of the territory does not imply that there was not plenty of work for the criminal lawyers. At the 1859 term of the District Court in Doña Ana County not less than seven murder indictments were returned. Some of these came from far off Tucson, now in the State of Arizona, and at that time about the only settlement of consequence in the territory now covered by that state.

From 1862 until 1866 the territory was practically under martial law, first the Confederate and then the Union armies controlling it. At that time the inhabitants of western New Mexico sympathised with the South and tried to secede and set up a separate government, and for a while the Bars and Stars floated over Mesilla as the Territorial Capitol. Under such circumstances it is not surprising that the courts functioned meagerly. There is as an example in the records a report by José D. Sena, Captain First New Mexico Volunteers, as President of a Military Board of Investigation into the killing of Juan Jaramillo a citizen of Valencia County by Harvey Twadell, watchman at the orchard of a man named Wilson near Los Lunas. It was a most cowardly affair and coldblooded to a degree. Twadell

who was a Southern sympathiser, shot Jamarillo twice from ambush, then walked over to where the wounded man lay on his face and shot him twice in the back. The report says: "after having shot Juan Jaramillo, aforesaid, twice in the premises, over which he was on guard" he dragged the body to an irrigating ditch and threw it in. Twadell escaped and was reported to have joined the Texas troops to the south.

So, during the civil war, the Territorial Supreme Court found itself without any appeals, or, if there were any, did not consider them until January term, 1866. But, as after every war, there was a great increase in crime in the territory in the next decade and this was promoted by the influx in the seventies and eighties of an adventurous class of fortune hunters, miners, cattle rustlers from Texas and gamblers from everywhere.

How the Common Law helped in bringing out of this chaos substantial security of life, liberty and property is another story. It began in 1876 when the legislature passed an act that "in all the courts in this Territory the common law as recognized in the United States of America, shall be the rule of practice and decision." And it is still at work.

EDWARD D. TITTMANN

EARLY WEAVING IN NEW MEXICO

It is not easy for one living in New Mexico in the twentieth century to think himself back into the sixteenth century. It is not easy properly to evaluate the effects which European civilization, arriving thru the first Spaniards, had upon the civilization to which the early peoples of this country had already attained.

In some respects the shock must have been severe. The early Americans were still in the Stone Age culturally speaking; they had no use, or even knowledge, of copper, iron, lead, tin, gold, silver, while the Spaniards had practical knowledge and extensive use of all them. Fire they knew, but gunpowder—and metal weapons which used fire to kill—were revolutionary to all their conceptions. The turkey they had domesticated, but here came the Spaniards with horses, cattle, burros, sheep, goats, hogs, chickens. The wheel in any form was unknown in the Southwest, but carts and wagons were used by the Spaniards certainly from the time of the first colonization and perhaps earlier.

Where there was some approximation between the two cultures, however, transition in tools and methods was quickly effected. The stone axe was superseded by the axe of iron; Spanish mattock and hoe took the place of the crude digging and planting implements of the Pueblo Indians. Maize, beans and squash were supplemented by the grains and fruits brought in by the Spaniards.

One of the most interesting examples of such transition was in the case of weaving, which is known to have been practiced in prehistoric times but the importance of which was greatly enhanced by the bringing in of sheep. We know from the earliest records that cotton was being cultivated before the arrival of the Spaniards; and kivas at archaeological sites in widely separated parts of the

Southwest, upon excavation, give evidence that they had contained weaving frames. How far back into the remote past this phase of Pueblo Indian culture extended is not known, but a recent publication¹ has an illustration of a neolithic loom which would have been quite understandable to a Pueblo Indian of Coronado's time.

For a detailed description of the loom itself, of the spindles and other implements used, and of the technique of weaving, one may turn to the article by Leslie Spier,² written from notes which he made at Zuñi in 1916. In all essential details it is safe to say that the art of weaving as there described has changed very little from what it was in prehistoric times.

Coronado's expedition brought sheep into New Mexico in 1540 and thus a new medium for weaving was introduced. Castañeda tells us clearly that when the Coronado expedition withdrew in April, 1542, a number of sheep were taken over to Pecos to be left with Fray Luis de Escalona, one of the three religious who elected to remain. Possibly as early as this, the Pueblo Indians acquired a knowledge of the use of wool; they certainly did so when sheep in larger numbers were brought in by Juan de Oñate and the first colonists in 1598.

In the Spanish archives at Santa Fe there is not much information regarding wool and weaving until towards the end of the eighteenth century. The earliest reference is in the fragment of a *bando*³ which escaped the Pueblo Revolt of 1680, in which Gov. Peñalosa Brizeño in 1664 forbade "the masters of doctrine to employ Indian women in spinning, weaving mantas, stockings, or any other things without express license from me or from him who may govern in my place."

Data supplied by the Spanish archives are not very

1. McCurdy, Geo. Grant, *Human Origins*, II, p. 97.

2. *El Palacio*, XVI, pp. 183-193, quoting *American Anthropologist*.

3. Spanish Archives of N. Mex., no. 3.

numerous for the eighteenth century. A land-grant of 1701 refers to a small tract near Bernalillo at a place on the Rio Grande called "Ancón del Tejedor," or Weaver's Bend. The record of a suit in 1734 over a contract to deliver wool gives an interesting glimpse into colonial life. Scattered references show that sheep and wool, and in later years some manufactured articles, were included in the exports which went out southwards with the regular *cordón* in November or December of each year.

In 1737, citizens of Albuquerque petitioned Governor Michelena to revoke an edict of August 24th prohibiting the sale of wool, grain or cattle, or their export. They complained of the danger from moths and rotting, and of the hardship which enforcement of the edict would cause them; but their petition was refused.⁴ Similar requests of May 22, 1744, and June 16, 1745, from settlers of Albuquerque to Governor Codallos y Rabal that they be allowed to sell their clips to the *dueñ or mayor domo de la Requa* from Mexico were both granted.⁵ A later edict, promulgated on April 14, 1777, gives some understanding of the wool situation at that time.⁶

Don Pedro Fermin de Mendinueta, of the order of Santiago, Brigadier of the Royal Armies, Governor and Captain general of this kingdom for his Majesty, etc.

Being public and notorious the scarcity at present suffered in this Kingdom of larger and smaller stock, occasioned by the exporting of these two species which was permitted by their former abundance; in addition to which from the lack of the former [cattle] results also the lack of oxen which are necessary for the cultivation of the fields, and from the lack of the latter [sheep] results the lack also of mutton and wool, because by the exporting of this species both in sheep and in uncarded wool, the looms on which it was being utilized are idle, and so likewise the fact that some few individuals advance the buying of sheep to the year before they are born so as to fatten and resell them

4. *Ibid.*, no. 421.

5. *Ibid.*, nos. 454, 465a.

6. *Ibid.*, no. 697.

at an excessive price within the same Kingdom — all of which is contrary to the public weal and of greatest injury to the Republic [sic]: Therefore by this present Bando I prohibit the export of said herds and of raw wool under the penalties incurred by those who contravene the supreme orders; and that noone may allege ignorance, the *alcaldes mayores* to whom is directed its publication in their respective Jurisdictions shall do it in the accustomed form, and shall return it to this superior Jurisdiction with a statement of execution. Given in this Villa of Santa Fee, April 14, 1777.

Pedro Fermin de Mendinueta

By order of the Governor and Captain General,
Antonio Moreto

This particular copy of the bando was sent to the alcalde in Albuquerque and shows this return-statement:

In this Villa de San Phelipe de Albuquerque, on April 20, 1777, I Don Francisco Trebol Navarro, alcalde mayor of said villa and its jurisdiction caused to be proclaimed in confirmation I have entered this return; and I signed it, I said alcalde mayor with the witnesses attending me with whom I officiate, of which I give faith.

Francisco Trebol Navarro

Manuel Zanes Garuizo

Francisco Suarez Catalan

Juan Bautista de Anza was appointed governor in June of the above year and served until 1788, but the papers which have survived from these years are rather meager and nothing appears bearing on our subject. He was succeeded by Fernando de la Concha whose active interest in the production of wool and in the weaving industry is shown by one of the papers.⁷

The Most Excellent Viceroy Count de Revilla Gigedo in a communication of November 25th advises me as follows:

"As soon as I have been informed by the *expediente* upon promoting the commerce of New Mexico and the establishment of factories of coarse weaves in the same

7. *Ibid.*, no. 1072a.

Province with the facts as to what it will cost to send implements and intelligent operatives, I will report to His Majesty recommending as advantageous and very adequate the means proposed by Your Grace in your communication of October 27th of the past year.

"It is one of the things which may be granted exemption of duties on fruits and effects which are exported by the settlers for trading in Chihuahua and other places of Nueva Vizcaya, and yet of however little value is that which they contribute in this tax, it cannot be lifted without consulting His Majesty because there is a Royal order which prevents such licenses being granted. . . ."

So as to inform you of the points contained in my report above cited, in the order enclosed to Your Excellency, I am sending you a copy of it; and with regard to what I enjoined in mine of January 28 that you should prohibit the exporting and slaughtering of the females of whatever kind of stock in all the extent of that Province, allowing only the latter in the case of the old ones useless for breeding. Your Grace will renew the same provision in view of the decision of His Excellency, seeing to its punctual observance.

Having learned that those interested are accustomed to export many sheep among the droves of rams, leaving their tails long so they will be indistinguishable from those, Your Grace will command by a bando to be published that they have to cut them within a definitely fixed length, under penalty of losing them and a fine of ten pesos on him who fails to so do, or if later he should take any sheep out of the Province whether in small or large number, since this provision is to be complied with exactly according to all its tenor.

God guard your Grace many years. Chihuagua, Dec. 18, 1789.
Jacobó Ugarte y Loyola

[To] Sr. Don Fernando
de la Concha

Two years later there is reference in de la Concha's correspondence to his having initiated trade by the Navajos in the exporting of pelts and coarse blankets.⁸ Fernando de Chacón became governor in 1794, and in the following

8. *Ibid.*, no. 1176 .

year he was writing to the comandante in Chihuahua,

The Navajoes, whom you suspect may have aided the Apaches in their incursions, have since the death of their general Antonio been irreconcilable enemies, to such a degree that with us they have observed an invariable and sincere peace. These Gentiles are not in a state of coveting herds (of sheep), as their own are innumerable. They have increased their horse herds considerably; they sow much and on good fields; they work their wool with more delicacy and taste than the Spaniards. Men as well as women go decently clothed; and their Captains are rarely seen without silver jewelry; they are more adept in speaking Castilian than any other Gentile nation; so that they really seem "town" Indians much more than those who have been reduced. . . ."

On Feb. 14, 1803, Salcedo in Chihuahua forwarded to Governor Chacón a royal order, dated June 21, 1802, directing him to send to the consulate in Vera Cruz a report as to agriculture, industry, the arts, and trade in his territory.¹⁰ The whole of this report, which is in the archives in the form of a retain-copy, is of great interest in its picture of New Mexico as it was at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Several parts have to do with wool and weaving.¹¹

Altho the Province possesses sufficient large stock for labor, what abounds most is the raising of sheep, since without counting what is consumed within the Province from one year to another there goes out to the Province of Vizcaya and lesser presidios from 25,000 to 26,000 sheep. . .

With respect to arts and trades, it may be said with propriety that there are none in this Province, there being no apprenticeship, official examination for master-workmen, any formality of trades-unions, or other things customary in all parts, but necessity and the natural industry of these inhabitants has led them to exercise some, for

9. *Ibid.*, no. 1335.

10. *Ibid.*, no. 1644.

11. *Ibid.*, no. 1670a.

example weaving in wool, shoemaker, carpenter, tailor, blacksmith, and mason in which nearly all are skilled. The first work on racks narrow *bayetones* [baize], long *fresadas* [kind of blanket], *sarapes*, *bayetas*, *sayal* [sackcloth], and *gergo* [carpeting], which weaves they color with indigo [*añil*] and Brazil nut which they import from the outer country, and with stains and herbs which they know. From cotton they make a kind of domestic shirting [*manta*] of twisted thread closer and stronger than that of Puebla, cloths for tablecloths and stockings: and altho by the present Government said workmen in wool have been furnished with models of fulling-mill and press they have not been able to make use of the one or the other machine, on pretext of not being able to meet the expense. . .

The above report was dated at Santa Fe on August 28, 1803. On October 20th the Viceroy, Joseph de Yturri-garay, in Mexico issued a bando, five copies of which were forwarded to Governor Chacón from Chihuahua on December 16th. It appears that on October 12, 1795, the king in Spain had granted a ten years' suspension of customs duties on the products of the Province. The government had now decided to supplement the encouragement thus extended by establishing an annual fair at some point in the Province of Chihuahua where the people of New Mexico might dispose of their goods quickly and to good advantage. It had also been decided to send from Mexico artisans skilled in the art of weaving, that the industry might be introduced and promoted in that country. . . To this end workmen would be chosen of skill and good conduct and especially men free of the vice of drunkenness, and the Ministers of Army and Royal Hacienda would proceed to advertise for and to contract such men with their families. Implements and models of looms were to be sent with them; and their contract was to be for six years.¹²

It was nearly two years before the superior government succeeded in putting this decision into effect. The contract which was then made is of interest in many of its details.¹³

12. *Ibid.*, no. 1691.

13. *Ibid.*, no. 1885.

*The Ministers of the General Treasury of Army
and Royal Hacienda*

We certify that in consequence of the Superior Decree of the Most Excellent Viceroy of this Kingdom of May 6th last, goes under contract to the Villa of Santa Fe, New Mexico, Don Ygnacio Ricardo Bazán certified master of weavers and his brother Don Juan Bazán tradesman of the same guild, to teach their art to the youths there, under the following conditions:

- 1st that they shall live in that Villa teaching the youths there the said trade, at least six years without leaving there until they have approved pupils who know the art.
- 2nd that eighteen reales daily are to satisfy the master from today when he leaves the capital until he shall have fulfilled his contract, out of which he has to support himself and his sons in New Mexico.
- 3rd that in addition to the eighteen reales daily nine reales additional are to be paid him during the journey and six reales for each of his sons which assignment ceases upon arrival at their destination, and it remains then reduced to the eighteen reales.
- 4th that he is to be given, as he has been given, a horse with saddle and bridle, a musket, a pair of blunderbusses, and a saber for the road, and two horses saddled and bridled for his sons.
- 5th to the tradesman Don Juan are to be paid from today and until he fulfill his contract twelve reales daily and six during the journey, a horse saddled and bridled having been given him, a pair of blunderbusses and a saber.
- 6th they have been given the implements which are entered on the separate list of account of the Royal Hacienda, for the practice of their art, they having to equip, also at cost of the Royal Hacienda, the necessary looms in the Villa of Santa Fe.
- 7th that the transporting of those implements and other equipage is also at the expense of the Hacienda, fourteen reales daily being paid for three pack mules which have been given them provided with rope.
- 8th that the mozo guide who takes them is to be paid one peso daily which said master will supply him on account of the Royal Hacienda.
- 9th upon arriving in New Mexico the master and trades-

man shall deliver to the Governor or to the Justice of the Villa the five horses with saddles, bridles and ropes, the three mules with their equipment, the musket, two pairs of blunderbusses and two sabers, and in case any beast dies on the road they shall furnish the Justice with a certificate or other document which will explain the nondelivery.

- 10th in the Villa these artisans shall be provided with house and supplies at a just price, for all which they are to pay out of their daily allowance, and for that they are to receive it work-days and fiestas without exception.
- 11th they must be supplied with what may be considered regular at good account for the trip from here to Zacatecas; in Zacatecas with the necessary to Durango. In Durango with what may be needed to the next "box" [treasury office] and from there to the destination, with respect to the daily allowances of the master and tradesman, the six reales daily of each of the two sons, and one peso for the mozo, and fourteen reales for maintenance of the beasts.
- 12th at the said destination they are to present also the implements which, in accord with the accompanying note, they are taking to equip the looms and commence their work and teaching.
- 13th in case they wish to withdraw from that Province before the end of the six years, the daily allowance shall cease and nothing shall be furnished them for their return; and when they complete the six years and leave approved pupils in the class of expert tradesmen, the Superior government shall grant, as may be fitting the station and merit of the master and tradesman, the reward which should be accorded them.

Under the conditions stated are going to New Mexico the said Don Ygnacio Ricardo, widower, and Don Juan Bazán, bachelor, Spaniards, and two youths, sons of the first, named one Francisco Xavier fourteen years of age, and the other José Manuel of ten years, having been supplied with three hundred pesos by this General Treasury for their provision for the journey at good cost. And that it may appear where it may be proper, there may be noted below what may be supplied them at the other offices [cajas] on their journey until they arrive at their destination and there they may be adjusted, we give the present (certificate) in Mexico, September 3, 1805.

Joseph María Lano

Joseph de Vildacola

Meanwhile interested citizens in Santa Fe had held a junta in June on the matters proposed by the Viceroy's bando of Oct. 20, 1803, and in consequence Governor Real Alencaster had written on July 1st, and wrote again on October 2nd, urging that the instructors for weaving in wool and cotton be sent, and that the promised annual fair be located at El Paso del Norte.¹⁴ On November 14th, Salcedo simply replied that he had referred the request to the viceroy.¹⁵ Not until November 20th did Alencaster acknowledge receipt of the terms of the Bazán contract, and he asked that two thousand pesos be set aside in the Chihuahua treasury to meet the expenses involved.¹⁶

Unfortunately there is a break in the record from this point until April 28, 1809, when Bazán wrote to Acting Governor Joseph Manrique as follows:¹⁷

In reply to your communication of today about securing samples from my students similar and conforming to those which I have sent to the Most Excellent Viceroy, on November 24th last, I must say: that, you asking me again for other samples for his satisfaction, according to the superior order of the Sr. Comandante General of February 21st last, it is necessary for me to secure them with the few materials which I have left of Silk, Cotton, and Wool, since you are not ignorant that, except out of my own pocket I have no other resource enabling me to do it, from the lack of assistance which to date has been given me. Notwithstanding this impossibility which actually exists, I will carry out all that your are pleased to impose upon me as promptly as possible, with the satisfaction of their being worked by my said students; for which I beg that you will be pleased to name one or two persons who may come by your order to witness it, if so you esteem it fitting.

God guard you many years. Santa Fe, April 28, 1809.

Ygn. Ricardo Bazán.

[to] Sr. Governador Interino

Manrique asked the two alcaldes of Santa Fe, Antonio

14. *Ibid.*, no. 1900.

15. *Ibid.*, no. 1919.

16. *Ibid.*, no. 1925.

17. *Ibid.*, no. 2225.

Ortiz and José Campo Redondo, to be present at the test, and when on August 31st he forwarded the samples to Salcedo he informed him that the pupils had made them by themselves without the master being present. In reviewing the various expenditures which had been incurred in the undertaking, he mentioned the arrival of the Bazáns on March 3, 1807, so that the instruction which they had given had been in a matter of two years instead of the six as contracted. The total expenditure as figured by Manrrique had amounted to date to 9,215 pesos, 6 reales, without allowing for their additional expenses until they should be released from their contract by the authorities in Mexico, and the costs of their return journey to that city. As the pupils had learned all that the Bazáns could teach them, he therefore recommended that they be released.¹⁸

On October 1st, Salcedo was referring the whole matter to the viceroy,¹⁹ and on April 27, 1810, he advised the governor of the settlement decided by the authorities in Mexico.²⁰ Bazán acknowledged on July 4th receipt of this information from Manrrique.²¹ Remaining references to the Bazáns²² are so vague as to be of little value. In August 1810, Manrrique asked Bazán for information regarding the state of the trade in the Province and as to the results of his instruction; but Bazán's reply is not now in the records. The last reference seems to show that Bazán was still in New Mexico at the end of 1814.

The opinion has been expressed that a survival of the instruction in weaving which was brought into New Mexico by the Bazáns may still be seen in the famous Chimayó blankets, a connection which will be of interest if it can be established.

LANSING B. BLOOM

18. *Ibid.*, nos. 2249c, 2250.

19. *Ibid.*, no. 2255.

20. *Ibid.*, no. 2315.

21. *Ibid.*, no. 2335.

22. *Ibid.*, nos. 2354, 2565.

THE RODRIGUEZ EXPEDITION TO

NEW MEXICO, 1581-1582

GEORGE P. HAMMOND and AGAPITO REY

The *Gallegos Relation* of the Expedition made by Father Agustín Rodríguez and Captain Francisco Sánchez Chamuscado.*

INTRODUCTION

In following the Rodríguez expedition to New Mexico we must transport ourselves back several centuries, back to the time when adventurous Spaniards looked upon this region of the Southwest in which we live as concealing within its deserts, mountains and valleys, treasures equal to those taken by Cortés from the Aztecs in Mexico or by Pizarro from the Incas in Peru. A veil of mystery hung over the land which it took decades to push aside. To the Spaniard it was the Mystery of the North, where hundreds of noble lives were lost in successive efforts to penetrate its baffling secrets. The form of wealth which the Spaniards sought, however, was not found. He wandered amid regions abounding in fur-bearing animals, over lands of great fertility, but the richness of these resources was not appreciated. He sought the precious metals which had presumably been hoarded by native hands for ages past. Yet such conditions were not found north of Mexico.

It will be necessary for us, in studying the Rodríguez expedition, to think back to the time when English free-

*The introduction and the annotations are by Mr. Hammond. In other respects the paper is a joint work. In the translation we have adhered as closely as possible to the original Spanish. Proper names are spelled as they appear in the original. Added material has been indicated by brackets. The portion of the manuscript containing the account of the pueblos has been compared with photostat copies of the original in the Archivo General de Indias at Seville.

booters sailed the Spanish Main and waylaid such treasure ships as came within their reach; to the time when English thoughts of colonizing America were born and began to take definite form. The two episodes, on widely separated and little known frontiers, transpired at the same time and afford an interesting illustration of the priority of Spanish colonization over English.

The expedition of Father Agustín Rodríguez and Captain Francisco Sánchez Chamuscado into New Mexico in 1581-1582, is of particular interest because it started that series of events which led directly to the permanent occupation of the Rio Grande country by the Spaniards. It is noteworthy because it parallels the first disastrous attempts of the English to plant colonies on the Atlantic seaboard. The bold sailor Sir Humphrey Gilbert, brought a colony to the bleak shores of Newfoundland in 1583, being one of the first to encourage such enterprises having as their goal the occupation of the mainland. . On a greater scale was the work of Sir Walter Raleigh who from 1584-1587, spent much ill-gotten treasure in seeking to plant an English colony at Roanoke Island, off the North Carolina coast. It was the most pretentious effort in that direction before the founding of Jamestown in 1607, but was a total failure.

The Rodríguez expedition was perhaps as venturesome as any undertaken by Gilbert or Raleigh. Not even the exploit of Sir Francis Drake in circumnavigating the globe puts it entirely in the dark. It is true that the sea held many terrors for those who sailed bravely forth in their cockle-shell boats, but the desert Indian country stretching from southern Chihuahua indefinitely northward, was equally exacting of those who ventured into its midst. Few indeed had attempted it before the period when Father Rodríguez and his little band marched off in 1581. There were only two, Coronado and Ibarra.

Francisco Vázquez Coronado, governor of New Galicia.

had invaded this red man's land in 1540.¹ His force was numbered by the hundred, and by dint of difficult marches and stiff fighting he was able to traverse Sinaloa and Sonora, to wander through Arizona, New Mexico and on to Quivira in Kansas. But though Coronado's feat looms large in the sphere of exploration and of romance, it was not productive of any worthwhile or permanent results, no more than was Sir Humphrey Gilbert's voyage when he was swallowed up by the hungry Atlantic in 1583.

Francisco de Ibarra, just a quarter century after Coronado's brave band had gone forth, set out from Sinaloa in 1565, to investigate the rumors which had reached him in New Vizcaya of the Pueblo region, but he got no farther than northern Sonora when he turned east into Chihuahua. His return journey was fraught with so many perils that the party had despaired of reaching civilized lands again before a way out of their difficulties was found.²

The fringe of settled society had meanwhile been creeping forward from Mexico northward. By the time our story opens it had reached southern Chihuahua. Mining settlements were found at scattered places, at Santa Bárbara, Indé, San Bartolomé, La Puana and elsewhere. To these frontier communities came at times rumors from the inland. Prospectors and slave hunters were always to be found at such points, and through these adventurers new reports of the Pueblo country had been received.³ This news led to results.

At San Bartolomé was stationed a friar, Agustín Rodríguez, who was stirred with missionary zeal by the tales of a settled native society in the interior. Others too were interested, and soon Father Rodríguez went to

1. See Winship, G. P. *The Coronado Expedition*. (Bureau of American Ethnology, 14th annual report, Part I, 1892-1893).

2. Baltasar de Obregón. *Historia de los descubrimientos antiguos y modernos de la Nueva España*, 1584. Published in Mexico in 1924 from the manuscript in the Archivo General de Indias, with mutilated title. In the original it is entitled *Crónica, comentario y relación de los descubrimientos antiguos y modernos de la Nueva España y Nuevo Mexico*, 1584. Note the omission of the words *Nuevo Mexico* in the published work.

3. Bolton, Herbert E., *Spanish Exploration in the Southwest*, 137-138.

Mexico, 1580, to seek the viceroy's sanction for permission to investigate the reports of the new land. The request was granted. Other padres might also go, and as many as twenty soldiers, "to protect them and as company;" and "they might take some things for barter." Gallegos, in the document here presented in translation, states that the project had been discussed by the soldiers and the religious. Obregón, a contemporary chronicler, records the story that Father Rodríguez "was the author and principal agent of the said discovery. He solicited and obtained the grant and commission for the leader and the people who discovered it, (New Mexico) from Don Lorenzo Suárez de Mendoza" Again, "as he was the principal promoter of the said expedition, he asked for two friars . . ." etc.⁴ This evidence indicates the predominant part played by Father Rodríguez, which is of the same tenor as the viceroy's letter to the king reporting on the outcome of the expedition.⁵ Moreover Gallegos, in his account, does not claim the distinction of being the moving spirit in the organization of the expedition, either for himself or Chamuscado.

The reason that Father Rodríguez was sent to interview the viceroy was that the old conquering expeditions were taboo, and it was practically necessary for entradas to be made under missionary disguise. It was essentially a joint expedition, all parts thereof obvious, and so is that of the soldiers. They were to protect the former, but they were also allowed to trade. That opened great opportunities which they did not fail to appreciate.

The party consisted of three friars, Fathers Agustín Rodríguez, Francisco López, and Juan de Santa María. In addition there were nine soldiers, of whom Francisco Sánchez Chamuscado was the leader, and nineteen Indian servants. Six hundred head of stock, were taken along, ninety horses, provisions, and articles for barter.

On June 5, 1581, the party left Santa Bárbara and the

4. Obregón, *op. cit.*, Book II, prologue.

5. The letter is translated in Bolton, *op. cit.*, 158-160.

next day San Gregorio. They followed the San Gregorio river, the present Rio de Parral, to its junction with the Rio de Florido, then along the Florido for the short distance till it empties into the Conchos, and then along the course of the Conchos to its junction with the Rio Grande, and on up to the region of the pueblos.

Two different Indian nations were met with before coming to the Rio Grande. The first was the Conchos and a related tribe the Raya, who spoke the same language. Obregón calls them Pataros. Aside from that his account tallies with the one by Gallegos. They occupied a region extending about fifty leagues along the Conchos river. While among them the latitude was taken and was found to be 29 degrees. Gallegos has left us a description of these tribes. He characterizes them as lazy, dirty and lacking in clothing.

Leaving the Conchos nation the Spaniards entered the lands of the Cabri, called also Pazaguantes by later chroniclers. The Cabri were distinctly superior in customs to those previously encountered, being better looking, intelligent and energetic. These people feared the Spaniards and fled to the hills. They had had experience with the slave hunting parties and it was with some difficulty that they were persuaded of the friendly intentions of Father Rodríguez and his companions.

Proceeding onward through an inhospitable region the party approached still another tribe called *Amotomanco* by Gallegos, *Los Rayados* by Obregón, and *Otomoaco* by Luxán who accompanied the Espejo expedition in 1583.⁶ They lived in substantial adobe houses, the first Indians along the route who occupied permanent dwellings. "They are brave, comely, handsome of countenance, noble and well disposed," says Obregón. They too were full of fear at the coming of the Spaniards, but were quieted when their good intentions were explained. This group of natives belonged to the Jumano family and occupied an extensive

6. Obregón, *op. cit.*, Book II, ch II; Luxán's "Entrada," in Bolton, *op. cit.*, 174.

area near the junction of the Conchos and the Rio Grande rivers.

From Santa Bárbara to the Rio Grande the explorers had marched "seventy or eighty leagues, rather more than less," says Gallegos. This reckoning corresponds very well with the facts.

The Jumanos delighted the Spaniards with stories of clothed people living in large houses farther on. They had reference to the Rio Grande valley which they called Valle de Nuestra Señora de la Concepción. To reach it they left the valley of the Conchos and struck across to the larger river a few leagues above their junction. They continued up the west bank of the Rio Grande till they reached the first towns. There is no record of their crossing the river before this.

Besides hearing of settled natives the Spaniards were excited by other things. Bits of copper, a piece of iron, white and colored coral were observed. And above all there were other Indians a distance of thirteen days up the river, who spun and wove cotton into blankets with which they covered their bodies, so ran the reports. The Spaniards were greatly encouraged.

Here among the Jumanos in the Rio Grande valley they obtained reports of Cabeza de Vaca who had wandered from Texas and reached Culiacán in 1536. "They affirmed that many years before there had passed through their lands and towns four bearded men, resembling them in their ways, speech and color." And Gallegos concludes: "By the descriptions they gave us we saw plainly and openly that it must have been Álvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca, because according to his relation he had come by way of these people."⁷

Continuing up the river for nine days they came to a place called the Valle de Carneros, because of the large rams' horns found there. Another nine days march brought them to the Valle de la Madalena, the end of Jumano terri-

7. Some hold that Cabeza de Vaca and his companions crossed farther north, above the international boundary, but this is not generally conceded by historians.

tory. Thus far the natives had accompanied them in large numbers, entertaining them with ceremonies which Gallegos describes for us. Before departing they explained that in five days more they would come to the region of cotton and permanent houses. But Gallegos was doubtful, and noted that "as they were Indians they might be lying, for they are Indians, people who are born liars and who are in the habit of always telling falsehoods."

His fears were soon realized. Two days later other Indians were met. They were the Caguates, so called by Luxán. They said the Pueblo country was seven days distant and protested they knew, for they had been there. This was done by signs as they had no interpreter for this nation. Three days later they came to an uninhabited swampy region which they named Valle de los Valientes. It was south of El Paso.

Now came a period of severe trial. For fifteen days they continued forward. The land was uninhabited and waste. All the Indians were evidently liars; the discouragement of the party was great. Gallegos reports they had marched seventy leagues since leaving human beings. All were about ready to turn back, but first they determined to make a reconnaissance and success crowned their efforts. Two settlements of astonished natives were found, but they fled to the mountains and a heavy shower precluded pursuit. Their object was attained, however, for on the return a lone Indian was captured. By signs he confirmed the reports of the Pueblo country. All thoughts of retreating were now given up. The march was resumed, and very shortly, on August 21, 1581, they came upon the first of the many pueblos soon to be seen. They called it San Felipe. It had forty-five houses of two and three stories. Here possession was taken of the land for the king of Spain. It was in the San Marcial region, more definitely near the site of Fort Craig. It was a Piro village.

A period of great expectation for the explorers dawned as they entered the settled region. Numerous pueblos were visited. Others were heard of which they did not

have time to investigate. Gallegos has left us a veritable census of New Mexico as it was in 1581. He mentions all the pueblos visited and gives the number of houses and their height. He also specifies on which side of the river they were situated. A fairly good idea of their location can be obtained with the aid of archaeological data.⁸

Only a general survey of the final movements of the Rodríguez party need be given here. The Piros pueblos extended as far as Sevilleta. The natives cultivated corn, beans, calabashes and cotton. The adobe houses were well planned, says our chronicler, and decorated. The people had much crockery "and of better quality than that of New Spain."

Among the Tiguas who were north of the Piros, similar though better conditions prevailed. These pueblos were numerous and shielded a large population. The pueblo called Puaray (Sandia) recurs most frequently in the subsequent movements of the Spaniards. By September 2, 1581, they reached the northern limits of Tigua territory and entered the lands of the Queres, visiting Santo Domingo, Cochití and other pueblos. Next they struck off from the Rio Grande and explored up the Santa Fé river, where were several pueblos, going from thence to the Galisteo valley. Here Father Juan de Santa María determined to return to Mexico and did so alone over the protests of the soldiers. *Malpartida* they called the pueblo from which he set out, for he met death three days later, as was subsequently ascertained. Returning to the Rio Grande valley the party continued up the river into Tewa territory, visiting the pueblos from San Ildefonso to Taos. From the description it seems probable that Taos was the northernmost pueblo explored.

Following this movement into the upper parts of the Rio Grande valley the Spaniards descended the river, carefully explored the Galisteo valley and made a march to the

8. Such a description is given in the notes accompanying the body of this paper, based on Dr. J. Lloyd Mecham's study of their location. See *New Mexico Historical Review*, I, 265-291.

Pecos river and on to the headwaters of the Canadian in search of buffalo, which they called "las vacas." From this exploration they returned to explore the Jemez valley and shortly thereafter went west to Ácoma and Zuñi. They heard of the Moqui pueblos in northeastern Arizona but were unable to visit them due to a shortage of provisions.

From Zuñi the soldiers made their way back to Puaray over the same route as they had come, and then made still another jaunt, this time to the saline pueblos east of the Manzano mountains. A number of towns were explored, but they were unable to follow up all the reports given them. Accordingly it was now deemed best to return to Mexico to report to the viceroy, as a thorough exploration of the province had been made. But the two remaining friars would not go. They were intent on preaching the Gospel in the newfound land, and the soldiers, in spite of all remonstrances, were forced to leave without Fathers Rodríguez and López. The former departed January 31, 1582.

The return to New Spain was down the Rio Grande valley, over the route already familiar. On the way Captain Chamuscado, who was well up in years, became ill. When he was no longer able to ride his horse a litter, strung between two horses, was constructed for him, but his days were numbered. Perhaps life was shortened by the bleeding operations performed. He finally succumbed when about thirty leagues from Santa Bárbara.

Such in outline is the accomplishment of the Rodríguez expedition. Of much interest also are the accounts of the customs and ceremonials of the pueblo Indians. The Spaniards had no interpreter, but they communicated by signs and carefully observed the life of the natives. A full description is given of one of the ceremonies "which they perform to bring rain when there is a lack of water for their corn fields" Both prayers sticks and snakes played a prominent part in the "dance." Gallegos also has something to say concerning their marriage rites, even telling

us the point of the speeches made. On the whole, however, he holds pretty closely to what was actually observed.

Regarding the census given by Gallegos a comment must be made. He describes a total of fifty-seven pueblos. They varied from two to seven stories, the majority being of two and three stories. If we can accept Gallegos' figures regarding the number of houses in each pueblo, there were slightly over 6,000 houses in these fifty-seven towns. At only one time does he indicate the number of rooms in each house, and that is when describing Zuñi. These he reported to contain as high as eight rooms or more per house. If these figures are worth anything at all they would indicate a larger population in the Pueblo region at the time of the coming of the Spaniards than has been commonly accepted. It is doubtful that any very definite conclusions can be drawn from Gallegos' figures, but they throw more light on the question of the native population than do other sources.

Thus had the Rodríguez expedition "discovered" a vast region in which the natives had attained an advanced stage of culture. The reports sent to Mexico were received with somewhat of the same enthusiasm as had the stories of Fray Marcos de Niza over forty years earlier. The "other Mexico" had at last been found, and the official machinery of the viceroyalty was soon set in motion to effect its subjugation. It was not till 1595, however, that Don Juan de Oñate of Zacatecas finally won the right to carry out the mission. The practical consequences of the Rodríguez expedition were thus to bring about the addition of a new province to the Spanish Empire in America.

RELATION¹ OF THE EXPEDITION AND EVENTS ACCOMPLISHED BY FRANCISCO SÁNCHEZ CHAMUSCADO WITH EIGHT SOLDIER-COMPANIONS IN THE DISCOVERY OF NEW MEXICO AND NEW LANDS, ADDRESSED TO HIS EXCELLENCY DON LORENZO SUÁREZ DE MENDOZA, COUNT OF CORUÑA, VICEROY, GOVERNOR AND CAPTAIN-GENERAL OF THIS NEW SPAIN, BY HERNÁN GALLEGOS, NOTARY AND DISCOVERER.²

Since I began serving his majesty in my youth in this New Spain in military matters, most excellent prince, in the new kingdom of Galicia and in that of Vizcaya in company with some captains, against the Chichimecos Indians - marauders - who have caused so much damage in these kingdoms, there has grown upon me constantly as the years have passed the particular desire to serve my king and lord in some important cause worthy of my desire. Since there was offered to Francisco Sánchez Chamuscado the expedition which he carried out in the discovery of New Mexico and the new land, which had been sought for so many years, and as he had communicated with me about it, I saw there was presented to me an opportunity commensurate with my purpose and ambition. After having pointed out and deliberated upon the inconveniences and difficulties that would be met in an undertaking of such magnitude we determined, together with seven other companions, with whom the enterprise [was discussed] to carry out the said expedition, having for its ultimate object the service of God our Lord, the preaching of His law and gospel to every being and the furtherance of the royal crown of Castile.

After discussing this with some religious of the Franciscan Order who in good spirit offered themselves for the said expedition, with the previous permission and authority of his excellency,³ we set out from the valley of San Gregorio of the jurisdiction and district of

1. *Relación y concudio* in the original. A copy of the manuscript is in the Edward E. Ayer Collection in the Newberry Library, Chicago.

2. The original manuscript is prefaced by the following paragraphs:

"Entry of New Mexico made by Francisco Sánchez Chamuscado in June of (15)81. Certification of the treasurer Juan de Aranda, of a relation found among the papers of the archbishop of Mexico and president of the Council.

"I, Juan de Aranda, treasurer of his majesty in this New Spain, certify that in a book written by hand, left in my power with other books and papers by the death and will of Don Pedro Moya de Contreras, late archbishop of Mexico, governor and visitor in this New Spain and president of the Council of the Indies of which he was secretary and testamentary, was found this written account of the following tenor."

3. The viceroy of New Spain, Lorenzo Suárez de Mendoza y Figueroa, count

the mines and town of Santa Bárbara in the kingdom of Vizcaya.⁴ [We were] three friars of the said order and nine soldier-companions with our own arms and horses and supported at our own cost.⁵ The justifiable fear of the dangers which were met we anticipated; dangers due to war, to the innumerable barbarous people found along the way, to the hardships resulting from lack of food, and to the privations and deserted lands that were feared on such a long journey due to the small number that made up the party. We left fortified with the hope of attaining temporal and eternal reward. Following the example of the nine men of fame⁶ we set out with a spirit of determination to die or to discover the desired land. We continued the said journey till we reached the land.

On this expedition I noted the important things and events in this discovery and in this province, and after I had helped to the best of my little strength it seemed to me that I was not even then doing all I should. I also wished to employ the little talent that God gave me in something that would be of service to God our Lord and his majesty, in order that there should not remain with me anything I could offer. Thus while doing my duty as a soldier, in the spare moments I had, I wrote in a brief treatise [the account of] the said discovery and expedition which we carried out, and the important events which took place in it, as well as some customs and rituals that we learned from the natives. I decided to divide it into chapters and to dedicate it to his excellency.⁷

Although it may seem boldness on my part, because I was born and brought up in humble surroundings, I was nevertheless encouraged by the case of the poor widow mentioned in the Gospel, who was praised by the Lord for the two coins which she offered in the temple. She was not belittled because she did not give much, but on the contrary was held in greater esteem.⁸ As a result of this reflection and finding myself in possession of two farthings capital, I offered them to his excellency and risked them in this undertaking. Mindful of the fact that I gave all I had and considering the good will with which I offered it [I hope] you will take it under your protection, because your excellency has such a great

of La Coruña. He ruled from October 4, 1580 to June, 1582. Priestly, *The Mexican Nation*, 88-89.

4. The party left San Gregorio on June 6, having departed from Santa Bárbara the day previous. See below, p. 4; and Bolton, *Spanish Exploration in the Southwest*, 145, 154.

5. For the names of those in the party, see below, p. 3.

6. The nine men of fame were: three Jews, Josne, David and Judas Macabee; three gentiles, Alexander, Hector and Julius Caesar; three Christians, King Arthur, Charlemagne and Godfrey of Bouillon.

7. The viceroy.

8. See Mark, ch. 12, verse 42.

part in the enterprise under discussion, for by your support and during your time in office there has been discovered that which had been so greatly desired by our predecessors. This has not been accomplished without the special providence of God. May He protect your very excellent person for many happy years and prosper your state as your excellency deserves, and as I your humble servant desire.

[Chapter I] Account of the persons, who at their own expense, furnishing their own arms and horses, went forth seeking to discover New Mexico and other lands where God our Lord should be pleased to direct them, in order that His holy faith might be taught and His gospel spread throughout the lands which they as your loyal vassals might thus discover in His holy service and in the interest of the royal crown.

These people were: Francisco Sánchez Chamuscado, leader of the expedition; Hernán Gallegos, your representative in the said expedition; Pedro de Bustamante; Felipe de Escalante; Pedro Herrera; Pedro Sánchez de Fuensalida; Hernando Barrado; and Juan Sánchez.⁹ In order to carry out this said expedition and their good purpose of spreading the said Holy Gospel they took along Fray Francisco López, superior, Fray Juan de Santa María, preachers, and Fray Augustín,¹⁰ lay-brother, friars of the order of St. Francis of the monastery of New Spain in the city of Mexico. Starting on the said expedition all set out together from the valley of San Gregorio, district and jurisdiction of the mines of Santa Bárbara in New Vizcaya, on the sixth day of the month of June in the year of our Lord fifteen hundred and eighty-one.¹¹

Setting out on the said journey they marched down the river named San Gregorio until they came to the junction of this stream with the river called Conchas and the river Florido, which are twelve leagues more or less from Santa Bárbara and from the place where they began the said journey. Leaving the junction of these rivers they determined to follow the largest river which they might find, and thus they followed the river Conchas. Marching down stream of this said river there came to them many Indians, natives of the said Conchas [river region]. In a distance of over fifty leagues which they marched down this river they were well received by the said Indians. After leaving the Concha nation they came to the Raya, another nation of people who inhabit the same land and use the same language as the Conchas. In this territory

9. There were nine soldiers in the party altogether. The name of Pedro Sánchez de Chaves is here omitted. See below, pp. 19, 41. Dr. Mecham in his paper on "The Second Spanish Expedition to New Mexico," confuses the name Herrera to Heviera. *New Mexico Historical Review*, I, 268.

10. Fray Augustín Rodríguez.

11. Cf. note 4 above.

of the Raya the latitude was taken and they found they were at twenty-nine degrees.¹² They always had [guides] who led them through these two nations. Numerous people, men as well as women, accompanied them. They came out to meet them with many presents of ground mesquite, as it is commonly called by the Spaniards, because it is a fruit which resembles the honey-mesquite, and quantities of honey-mesquite and calabashes. These people are poorly mannered. They go about naked like savages. They are lazy, capable of little work, and dirty. These people sustain themselves with quantities of calabashes, ground mesquite, mushrooms, prickly pears, and fish from the said river. These people call water "bod," corn "fonet," and they are named "Yoslli."

Chapter [II] Telling of their departure from the said Raya, of their penetration of the interior, and of the manner in which they were received by the Indians.

When they started out they marched down the aforesaid river.¹³ After they had traveled five leagues more or less, they were met by numerous Indians of the Cabris nation, who speak a different language than the previous Concha. The said Indians and people of the Cabris nation are very handsome, very spirited, very active and more intelligent than the people previously met. They are of large stature. Their faces, arms and bodies are striped with pleasing lines.¹⁴ These people are cleaner and more modest than the Concha. They cultivate quantities of calabashes and beans in the proper season. They go about naked liked those met before. They wear their hair in the shape of skullcaps. These Indians gave them large amounts of calabashes, ground mesquite, prickly pears, beans and mushrooms, which is what they have for their food all the year round.

They brought them these presents on account of the news they had received as to how the Spaniards were going to reconcile them with their enemies with whom they carried on war, and to make them friends of the Spaniards. For it seemed that the other people had fled into the sierra for fear of the Spaniards, because the latter had taken and carried off many of their people during the raids of

12. Dr. Mecham says the explorers were among the Pazaguantes, or Cabri, when these observations were taken. This statement is unwarranted, for they were among the people called Raya by Gallegos, who were of the same stock as the Conchos and spoke the same language. *Op. cit.*, 269.

13. The Conchos river.

14. This was a Jumano characteristic and indicates that the Cabri were a division of the Jumanos rather than a distinct unit, as Dr. Mecham seems to believe. He states that the Spaniards marched about forty miles through their lands, evidently basing his statement on Luxán's account of the Espejo expedition. Cf. p. 173 note 3 of Bolton, *Op. cit.*, Mecham, *op. cit.*, 269.

the captains who had sallied forth by orders of Francisco and Diego de Ibarra.¹⁵ They had caused them much harm. In order to pacify the land and to reassure those people as well as the rest, they gave them to understand through the interpreter they brought along, that the men there present had not come for any other purpose than to restore friendship with their enemies and to help them in their wars and struggles; to lend them to protection and aid they should need against their foes. They were told not to fear the Spaniards because they would not cause them any further harm. This was the reason they had come there. In the future no Spaniards would come except to be their friends, provided they behaved well, for on the contrary they would kill them all. If they wanted to avenge the taking of their friends, relatives, children and women they should come forth quickly, come out into the open, for those eight men there present, who had come to see them, would avenge the other Spaniards.

This fearlessness shown by the said Spaniards toward the natives was primarily to intimidate them so that the news should spread. Many harquebuses were fired. The natives were very much frightened at the discharge of the harquebuses. They replied that they did not wish to have any quarrel with the Spaniards, but instead wanted to be their friends; that they preferred to be aided in their wars; and though they had been somewhat afraid of them they would not be so in the future, but on the other hand they would take pleasure in not offending them in any way, and that they, the Spaniards, should do likewise; that they did not wish to fight them because they soon became demoralized. God was pleased to instill this fear in these and the other natives, because the above-mentioned Spaniards knew very well they were not sufficient to withstand such a large number of people unless it was with the aid of the Lord. With this confidence they had started on the said expedition.

After all this conversation we told the said Indians, in order that they might know that the Spaniards were their friends and would not cause them any further harm or take away more of their people, that they would place a cross X in their rancherías, and that in case Spaniards came intending to harm or take away more of their people, that they would place a cross X. The said Indians were very much pleased by this and showed their appreciation in such a way that they embraced the Spaniards and promised not to remove the said cross X from their towns and rancherías. When the said Spaniards had placed a cross X in the said rancherías, when so placed, the

15. Slave hunting raids beyond the older settlements were one of the ever present evils of frontier society in the Spanish colonies. The practise began in the early days of the Spanish conquest, and persisted in spite of hostile legislation, notably the laws of 1573 regulating new conquests.

natives were much pleased. They raised their hands toward the sun because they had been told they were children of the sun.

The Spaniards asked them if there were clothed people beyond their nation, if there was corn and if there were settled people, because we wished to see them and wanted to send them notice that we were coming. They replied that farther on, very far from there, they had heard that there were many brave people with many houses and that there was much corn, beans and calabashes and that the people wore clothes like themselves. In view of the answer of the said Indians notice was sent throughout the land.

Chapter III. How we sent notice of our coming throughout the land.

We left that place¹⁶ after sending word through the land that we were coming to restore peace between them and those with whom they carried on war, for we understood they waged war with one another. Marching down the same river¹⁷ we entered and crossed many very dense ridges that were traversed only with great difficulty by our beasts of burden. It became necessary to lift up some of them, because some rolled down and others became exhausted and collapsed. This resulted from our not knowing the way. But God was pleased to give us patience and endurance to bear the hardship; and as these are things directed by His hand we offered our thanks to Him. When we had descended the said mountain we came to the river, which was reached only after crossing the ridge. This sierra must be about a league across, but the difficult part is short, only about an harquebus shot across. This includes climbing to the summit and descending.

Marching down the said river we met the messengers we had sent to notify the land [of our coming]. As soon as the messengers reached us we halted on the bank of the said river in order to find out first what the messengers had to say. A short time later there came to us many Indians, men and women; the men were very handsome and the women beautiful. We asked them what the name of their language was, because to us it seemed different from the one we had met before, although they understand one another.¹⁸ They answered that it was called "Amotomanco." They call water "abad;" corn "teoy;" and beans "ayaguate." They are striped people and very merry. They live in houses made of paling plastered with mud. However they go about naked like the people we met earlier. They cultivate very little corn, but calabashes and beans in quanti-

16. That is, the territory of the Cabri Indians.

17. The Conchos.

18. This indicates a relationship between the Cabri and the Amotomanco, as suggested above. Cf. note 14. The latter were the Jumanos. They occupied the region at the junction of the Conchos and the Rio Grande rivers, Mecham gives their name as Otomoacos, following Luxán's report. Mecham, *op. cit.*, 270.

ties. They live on these provisions, though their natural food is mushrooms. These people received us very well and gave us of the provisions they had, which were: calabashes, ground mesquite, beans, prickly pears and also mushrooms.

These people were disturbed and fearful of the Spaniards on account of what they had heard, and so they complained to us. We reassured and quieted them through the Indian interpreters that we brought along. We let them know that the Spaniards would not come to cause them any further harm, because we had been sent for that purpose by the great Lord. They were much pleased at this and became cheerful. They carry very fine weapons; Turkish bows and very good cowhide shields.

After this we had brought before us two old Indians who seemed to be caciques of that land, in order to inform ourselves concerning the land and people to be found farther on. We asked them in the tongue of the interpreter we took along what kind of people there were farther on in the land near their people. They replied that in their land were many people of their tongue; and from what they indicated that nation extended for over one hundred leagues; that many more people were to be found beyond their land; and that along a river which is three leagues distant from the mentioned Conchas river, going up this river toward the north, they had been told of many people who wore clothes like ourselves, and that there was much cotton and quantities of corn, beans and calabashes. In order to see the size of the river they had mentioned and to find out if it was as they had pictured it to us, we decided to go to it, although the route we determined to follow was not the one toward the north indicated to us by the Indians.

Through other questions that we put to them we were informed that in the interior there were many clothed people living in very large houses. They almost seemed to indicate to us that those people spoke the Mexican language, but being Indians we did not believe that concerning the language, but we did believe the rest. We were very much pleased by all these things, and we gave many thanks to God our Lord for the news and information which the natives of that land had given us in order that the Holy Gospel might be planted for the salvation of the souls in idolatry. From this river to that of San Gregorio, from which we left to undertake this expedition, there must be seventy or eighty leagues, rather more than less. The land is all wretched, dry and unproductive, the worst encountered on the whole trip, on account of ignorance of the land.

Chapter IV. How we obtained further details of the characteristics of the inland and its inhabitants, as well as of the cities and of the cattle.¹⁹

19. The cattle were of course the buffalo.

We continued marching in the direction the Indians had indicated to us on the day before, taking along guides who led and took us to the river of which they had informed us the previous day. This said river formed a valley, the best and most pleasing that was seen and explored on the trip. The said valley we named Valle de Nuestra Señora de la Concepción.²⁰ In this river and valley we found many people of the same tongue we had passed the day before,²¹ and the houses in which they live. It was a permanent settlement and the people were very clean, handsome and warlike, the best featured we had encountered thus far. Standing on top of their houses they showed great merriment on seeing us. These houses resemble those of the Mexicans, except that they are made of paling. They build them square. They put up the bases and upon these they place timbers, the thickness of a man's thigh. Then they add the pales, and plaster them with mud. Close to them they have their granaries built of willow, after the fashion of the Mexicans, where they keep their provisions and their harvest of mesquite and other things. They brought us presents of the things they had, for they are people who cultivate and harvest like the people previously met.

In order to inform ourselves and get further details of the reports that had been given us before, it was necessary to stop in this said valley for almost a day. We sent for many people and they soon came; and like the people we had met before they had already been taught to kiss the hands of the missionaries that we brought with us. And, in order that they should do so, we first kissed their hands²² so that the natives would follow the example. The natives then kissed their hands and raised theirs to heaven and blew toward the sky, because we informed them that those fathers we brought with us were children of the sun, that they had come down from heaven, and that we were their children, and they believed it accordingly.

These people are very well disposed. To judge from the way they acted, the labor that might be expended in teaching them will bear fruit. They will be well inclined toward any good thing and will remain attached to it. However I think that as a naked and barbarous people they will be difficult to settle and congregate in towns, because they are savage people.²³

In this valley an Indian was found who seemed to be the cacique.

20. It was the Rio Grande. Different names were applied to it at different places.

21. Namely Jumanos.

22. The hands of the missionaries.

23. The Spaniards found it comparatively easy to conquer, exploit and civilize the Indians living in settled towns or communities as in Mexico. It was a different matter with the wild tribes farther north, for they must be subdued and congregated in towns before Christianization or exploitation was possible.

The others obeyed him to such an extent that they carried a seat that he could sit down. It consisted of a very large tanned cowhide. These people possess many hides and live in definite places. In this settlement we placed a cross X. This pueblo had eight large square houses inhabited by many people, over three hundred persons in number.

To reach this river we left the Conchos at our back on our right toward the south. This river is the largest to be found in the Indies. From the Vera Cruz river to this one, no other [river] was seen. It is lined with numerous trees. The valleys are fine for the cultivation of anything whatsoever, for grain, trees, for ranches or cattle raising.

Chapter V. How we were further informed in regard to the land by means of trinkets which the natives had with them.

In this said valley of Concepción²⁴ we saw a piece of copper which an Indian carried about his neck tied with some cotton threads.²⁵ Another carried a copper sleigh-bell. We asked them where they had obtained those things and they told us it was from the west and pointed in that direction. They call copper "porba."²⁶ We noticed likewise that some of the Indians who came to meet and see us carried white and colored coral, although not of fine quality, suspended from the nose; they also had turquoises. We further asked them where they had obtained it, and they replied by giving us to understand that it was from the sea, as they pointed that way.

We inquired from these and many other Indians whether they knew from observation or hearsay, what there was in the interior, if there was logwood, corn and many people. They told us that thirteen days from the Concepción river, marching up stream, were many clothed people who cultivated and gathered much corn, calabashes and beans, and much cotton which they spun, wove and made into blankets with which they covered and clothed themselves, the women as well as the men; they added that they wore shirts. They showed by signs how they cultivated the land. This pleased us very much. Asking them whether they had been there they replied they had not, but that they had heard about it long ago from the people who killed the cattle and that they considered it very certain.

In view of this we gave many thanks to God our Lord for such good information as they had given us there and for the news concerning the provisions of corn, which was the thing we most desired.

24. Rio Grande.

25. Copper was in general use among the Indians before the coming of the white men. Native copper was found in small quantities in Arizona and New Mexico and elsewhere, though probably not utilized to any considerable extent. Hodge, F. W. *Handbook of Indians North of Mexico*, I. 343-344.

26. Obregón has it "payla."

For as long as we did not lack corn and food we would march on until we came to the end of the land, till we saw all that was to be discovered and examined in it, [especially] the people with permanent houses, in order that the Holy Gospel should be planted and taught, for this was our main purpose when we set out on the said expedition. We were also influenced by the reports of the people given to us by the former and present Indians. As they were said to have very large high houses with stairways we thought they might have been the Mexican people, but we considered this false. [We were also influenced by] the accounts of those who had entered to discover, and who had written chronicles, which we had taken along,²⁷ and we were informed that the said settled people were very brave and very numerous, but that did not discourage us from going ahead.

While we were in this situation we saw another Indian who brought us an iron bar about three yards long²⁸ and shaped like those possessed by the Mexican Indians. On asking him where he had secured that valuable article they all pointed in the direction where they had said the clothed and settled people were located. We were very much pleased with this additional information.

We were followed and accompanied by many people, who approached our horses and rubbed their bodies against their haunches, raising their hands to heaven and blowing with their mouths toward the sky. They did this because they, as the others before, had been told that those whom we brought with us, that is, the friars, were children of God and that we were brothers and their children, and they believed it. We told them that we came only to visit them, to see how they were and to pass on. They were very pleased at what we told them and brought us many presents of prickly pears, ground mesquite and calabashes. They offered us of the things they had, feathers, tanned cowhides, deerskins and other things. They seemed to be happy.

We asked them if any men like us had passed that way, and they replied that long time ago four Christians had passed through there. By the descriptions they gave us we saw plainly and openly that it must have been Álvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca, because according to his relation he had come by way of these people. However we now had additional information of very fine things and of great importance which Cabeza de Vaca did not have. Therefore

27. The reference is to Cabeza de Vaca's relation. Cf. Bustamente's Declaration, in Bolton, *op. cit.*, 144.

28. The Spanish reads, " . . . y nos trajo un hierro como de tres cuartas de medir."

we considered it an event directed by the hand of the Lord that so few men had dared to go among such a multitude of barbarous and idolatrous people. For there was not a day that we marched up the said Concepción river that we did not have with us upwards of three hundred souls day and night. But as these are things guided by the Lord we nourished great hopes of emerging victorious and of preaching the Gospel, for this was our aim.

Chapter VI. Concerning the land and valleys discovered and the information we gathered.

After marching nine days up the said river we came to a beautiful valley which we named Valle de los Carneros.²⁹ This valley is twelve leagues from that of Concepción. It was given this name because on passing through this valley we discovered an abandoned ranchería where we found many horns of rams which appeared to weigh upward of sixteen pounds each. It was marvelous, for these horns were larger than those of steers. Marching another nine days we came to another valley along the same river which we called [Valle] de la Madalena.³⁰ Here we were told of some mines and we went to examine them. They seemed of no importance. Nevertheless the people who accompanied us led us to them.

Many natives accompanied us as far as this valley. Here they definitely informed us of what was to be found and left us. They told us that farther on was another language, a nation of people who were their enemies, and that they did not dare to go there in order that the others should not think they were going to fight and harm them. Since we realized that they were right, and as we wanted to please them since they had done this for us, it was just to please them. Moreover they and their wives offered us their Turkish bows, arrows, feathers and other things they had, such as cowhides, deerskins and the provisions they possessed. This they offered and gave us so willingly that we felt like giving many thanks to God.

They accompanied us at night and performed dances for us. This nation has a rhythm in its dances, resembling the negroes' dances, which they bring about by beating some skins attached to a vessel in the fashion of a tambourine. On doing this they rise and perform their dances to the rhythm of the music like merry-andrews. They raise their hands toward the sun and sing a dance tune in their language, "ayia canima." They do this with much compass and harmony, in such a way that though there are three hundred men in a dance, it seems as if it were being sung and danced by one only, due to the good harmony and measure with which they do it.

29. It was the Rio Grande.

30. The Rio Grande again. It was the last region inhabited by the Jumanos, as is evident from the next few lines in Gallegos' report.

They went away from us much pleased. Before we parted from them we asked them where there was corn, clothed people and permanent houses, which was what we most desired. They answered that five days from there, up the aforesaid river, were those things about which we had inquired. It pleased us very much to see that the town for which we had inquired, and which they told us of, was so near. This cheered us greatly, but on the other hand we could not help being somewhat apprehensive that as they were Indians they might be lying, for they are Indians, people who are born liars and who are in the habit of always telling falsehoods. We asked them again and they re-affirmed what they had told us before. It was the truth. Seeing this we commended ourselves to God and went on.

After two days we came to another nation of well inclined people and fine men who received us well and offered us of what they possessed in the same manner as the others had done before.³¹ These people call the arrow "ocae," the name given to the bamboo by the Mexicans. Among the things presented they gave us two bonnets made of numerous macaw feathers. We asked them if they knew anything of the inland, if there were settled people who wore cotton blankets, like the one we brought along to show them, and if they ate corn, and other questions we had asked the people before. We asked them how many days distant those people were, warning them to tell us the truth, for otherwise we would tell the sun to become angry. They replied to what we had asked, saying they had heard and knew for sure that in the interior were many clothed and settled people who lived in large houses three and four stories high. They told us this by means of signs, because we did not have an interpreter for this nation.

[They added] that the said people cultivated large areas of land and harvested corn, . . . calabashes and beans of many kinds; that they had birds, and blankets of cotton which they wore, for they cultivated and gathered large quantities of it, indicating that the bolls were as large as one's fist. [They said] they wore shoes and that they made crockery from which they ate, and that the said pueblo was seven days distant. Since the previous people had told us it was five days off we asked them why they said seven. They answered that those who formerly told us about it, did not know and had lied. They did not know as much about it as they themselves did, because they had seen it. We were much relieved by this, as well as by the good news they had given. Moreover they told us that the people farther on, who were numerous, very brave

31. These were called Caguates, or Caguases, by Luxán. Neither Gallegos, Obregón nor Espejo give the name, as Meacham's paper would seem to indicate. See Luxán's *Entrada A. G. L.* 1-1-3/22; and Meacham, *op. cit.*, 271 and note 22.

and warlike, fought with them a great deal, for they were not of their nation; that for three days we would not see any people, but that at the end of the three days we would soon meet many clothed people, who gathered corn, beans, calabashes and cotton in abundance. In view of this we took leave of them.

On the next morning we left this place and marched down³² the river another three days without seeing any people, and came to a valley of swamps, which extends over eight leagues. This is a valley suitable for ranches and for the cultivation of anything that might be desired. We named it the Valle de los Valientes.³³ We found it uninhabited.

Chapter VII. Concerning the land which was traversed without meeting anyone, as it was uninhabited.

On leaving the Valle de los Valientes we marched another four days in order to see the settlement of which they had informed us. We did not locate it, so we thought the Indians had deceived us, but we did not lose courage on that account. We continued forward, going up the same river another five days to see if we could locate or find the place of which they had told us before. We found nothing after fifteen days of travel. We decided to assemble and express our views concerning the situation, as to whether we should return to the land of the Christians, for according to what the natives had told us we were lost. They had said [the settlements] were seven days away, others had said five, and we had marched for fifteen days through deserted land without seeing anyone. We had lost our way. We did not know where we were going and we were without a guide and without provisions to go farther, because since leaving human beings we had traveled over seventy leagues through uninhabited country.

We decided to make a sortie and follow a path we had found the day before. Those who left on this party were Father Fray Juan de Santa María, Hernán Gallegos, Pedro de Bustamente, Pedro Sánchez de Fuensalida and Pedro Sánchez de Chaves. We left the camp and marched through a plain for over two leagues until we came to the end of it and reached a sierra. On entering it we saw and found an Indian and two inhabited ranches. Taking our horses and arms we went in that direction. We discovered many people who, seeing that we came after them, fled toward the mountains. While running after them such a heavy shower fell upon us that we were helpless and unable to make use of our horses. On this account we could not seize any Indian who might inform and un-

32. A mistake in the manuscript for "up the river."

33. This swampy region begins near Guadalupe and extends up the west side of the Rio Grande to near El Paso. See Mecham, *op cit.*, 272 note 23.

deceive us as to whether there existed that which we had been told of before and for which we were searching.

On the way back to the camp God was pleased that we should find an Indian about forty years of age. We thought this had occurred by the will of God because we had decided to turn back. And as the Lord is so merciful He remembered us so that our good purpose, for it was in His holy service, should not be stopped, but on the contrary should be furthered. He sent us the Indian who informed us of what there was in the interior, of the many houses, the numerous clothed people, the abundant corn, beans, calabashes, cotton and turkeys; that the people wore clothes and that the houses were three and four stories high. He gave us this good news by means of signs, for in no other way could we understand him. The report brought us great joy and we gave many thanks to God our Lord for so many favors and for bringing us succor in the moment of greatest need.

Chapter VIII. How we left, accompanied by the Indian, and went in search of the houses of corn.

When we had learned what there was farther on from the account given us by the Indian, we went on, taking this very Indian as guide. Up the same river we came to an abandoned pueblo that had been inhabited by large numbers of people, who must have been very advanced, judging by the buildings.³⁴ The discovery was of great importance if these people could be located, because the said pueblo was walled-in. The houses were of mud-walls and adobes and three stories high, as it appeared, because they had fallen down on account of the rains and seemed to have been abandoned for a long time. We halted here for the night. We asked the guide whom we took along where that which he had told us about was located. He indicated that it was about two leagues away and that he wanted to go there to notify the people so they would bring us corn and other things which they had. By agreement of all the said Indian was sent, but as he was of a different nation it seemed that he did not go to the pueblo he had mentioned.

On the following morning we left the abandoned pueblo and after marching the two leagues which the said Indian had told us of we came to a pueblo of many houses three stories high where we did not find any people.³⁵ They had left the night before because they had noticed us. We found in the houses many turkeys and

34. This pueblo, consisting of about 45 houses of two and three stories, was reached on August 21, 1581. It was called San Felipe. See below, p. 50. It was a Piro village in the region of San Marcial, Bandelier, Adolph F. A. *Final Report of Investigations among the Indians of the Southwestern United States*, II, 252. Dr. Mecham thinks it may have been near the site of Fort Craig. *Op. Cit.*, 273.

35. It was called San Miguel, though Gallegos later says it was a two story pueblo. See below, p. 50.

much cotton and corn. We did not find any people in the pueblo we found many fields of corn like that of Mexico, and also fields planted to beans, calabashes and cotton. We did not dare touch any of their property in order that they should understand we did not mean to harm them. We found the houses very well planned, square and built of mud-walls. [They were] whitewashed in the interior and decorated with many monsters and other animals and pictures of persons. [These people] showed more neatness and care in their houses than was observed by the Mexicans in theirs when they were conquered. They have much crockery, such as pots, large earthen jars and flat pans,³⁶ all painted and of better quality than that of New Spain.

We endeavored to locate the people in order to pacify and induce them to accept peace. This was done and they were appealed to by peaceful means, for otherwise we would have been unable to see their land. Nevertheless if they had attempted to prevent our coming we would have entered by force, in order to see their land and what it contained, because we had already endured many hardships. But God was pleased that some Indians should come to us. Then we sent them away peacefully, telling them to make the sign of the cross with their hands as an indication that we did not wish to harm them. The news that we were coming peacefully spread to such an extent that there was not a day that we were not surrounded and accompanied by over twelve thousand men.³⁷ Here we informed ourselves concerning the land and the Indians. They showed us that there were in their nation twenty odd pueblos and that farther on was another nation with which they were at war. In view of this we continued up the river, which we named the Guadalquivir river, as it was so large, full of water, very wide and swift.³⁸

After passing these pueblos of the first nation we come to a pueblo of many large houses three and four stories high. [They were] plastered on the inside and the windows were very square. All the houses were painted in many designs and colors. We marched through this nation for four days,³⁹ constantly passing many pueblos, for there were days when we passed two of them. [We went on] until we reached the frontier of another nation,⁴⁰ bordering on that pueblo. When we reached the said line and the other nation we halted two days in order to inform ourselves of what there was

36. The Spanish reads, *ollas, tinajas, comales*.

37. Our manuscript says twelve thousand. Mecham gives it as two thousand. *Op. cit.*, 273 .

38. A full list of the pueblos visited is given in this relation beging on p. 50.

39. They were still among the Piros.

40. The Tiguas.

farther inland, that we might proceed with the journey. There we were further acquainted with what there was in the interior. We learned that there was a large population, at which we were much pleased. We gave many thanks to God because though only so few men had come He had been pleased to bring us such good tidings. For, before this time numerous Spaniards with ample commissions from viceroys of New Spain had entered the land in search of the said discovery and settlement, and they had not found it.⁴¹ Thus we understood that the project was directed by the hand of God in wishing us to meet so many people and such a settlement where the Holy Gospel might be planted in order that the natives there might come to the true knowledge. Thus we went ahead very happy and joyful.

These people support themselves by means of corn, beans and calabashes. They make tortillas and *catoles* with buffalo meat and turkeys, because they have large numbers of the latter. There is not an Indian who does not have his corral in which he keeps his turkeys. Each one holds a flock of one hundred birds. These people use campeche and cotton blankets, for they have large cotton fields. They raise large numbers of small shaggy dogs, which however are not like those owned by the Spaniards. They build underground huts for them in which they keep them.

Chapter IX. How we left the said frontier and entered another nation of people, and of the reception we were accorded.

After leaving this nation⁴² the Indians took us to a large pueblo of the other nation. They received us, making the sign of the cross with their hands as a sign of peace, as the people before had done. As the news spread, the procedure in this pueblo was followed in the others. We entered this pueblo and they gave us much corn. They showed us many pots and other earthenware containers very well painted. [They brought] quantities of calabashes and beans for us to eat. We took little of this now so that they should not think we were coming to eat a great deal and in order not to give them the impression that we did not want it. They make it a point among themselves that if one does not take what they give they consider it disparaging. One must take what they give, and after taking it may throw it away wherever desired. Should one throw it to the ground, and though it be a thing they can utilize, they will not pick it up. On the contrary they will sooner let it rot where it is discarded. This is the practise among them. Thus, as

41. Gallegos here refers to the expeditions of Coronado in 1540 and of Francisco de Ibarra in 1565. After Coronado's expedition the account of it was soon so thoroughly confused that he was not supposed to have reached New Mexico. See Bancroft, *Arizona and New Mexico*, 70.

42. The party is now leaving the Piro country and entering the Tigua towns.

we understood their custom, we took something of what they gave us. Moreover we did this to get them into the habit of giving of their free will without being asked. Accordingly they all brought what they could. The food supply of tortillas of corn, *catoles*, calabashes and beans which they brought was such that enough was left over every day to feed five hundred men. Part of this [surplus] they carried for us. The women made tortillas similar to those of New Spain. They make them of beans also. There are likewise in these pueblos, houses of three and four stories similar to the ones we had seen before. But the farther one goes into the interior the larger are the pueblos and the houses, and the more numerous the people.

The way they build their houses, which are square, is as follows. They bake the clay; they build the walls narrow; they make adobes for the doorways. The lumber used is pine and willow. They use many timbers ten and twelve feet long. They provide them [the houses] with movable ladders by means of which they climb to their quarters. They are movable wooden ladders, for when they retire at night they lift them up, since they wage war with one another.

These people are clothed like the others. I wish to describe here their garments, because, for a barbarous people, it is the best attire that has been found among them. It is as follows. The men have their hair cut in the fashion of caps, so that they leave on their caps, I mean on the crown of their heads, a sort of skull cap formed by their own hair. Others wear their hair long, to the shoulders, as the Indians of New Spain formerly did. Some adorn themselves with painted cotton pieces of cloth three spans long and two thirds wide, with which they cover their privy parts. Over this they wear, fastened at the shoulders, a blanket of the same material, painted with many figures and colors. It reaches to their knees like the clothes of the Mexicans. Some, in fact most of them, wear cotton shirts, hand painted and embroidered, that are very charming. They wear shoes. Below the waist the women wear cotton skirts, colored and embroidered, and above, a blanket of the same material, painted and worked like those used by the men. They wear it after the fashion of the Jewish women. They girth themselves over it with cotton sashes adorned with tassels. They comb their hair, which is long.

These people are handsome and white. They are very industrious, for only the men attend to the work of their corn fields. The day hardly breaks before they go about with their hoes in their hands. The women busy themselves and work only in the preparation of food and in making and painting their crockery and their *chucubites*, in which they make their bread. These vessels are so good and fine that

it is worth seeing how these *chucubites* are made, as good, and even better, than the ones that are made in Portugal. They make their earthen jars in which they carry and keep their water. They are very large, and they cover them with lids of the same material. They have their milling stones on which they grind their corn and other things. These are similar to those in New Spain, except that they always keep them in the same place, and the women, if they have daughters, compel them to do the grinding. They are a very cleanly people. The men bear burdens and not the women. The manner of carrying burdens, sleeping eating and sitting down is the same as that of the Mexicans, both for men and women. However they carry the water in a different way. They make a palm knee-cushion similar to those of Old Castile, put it on the head, and on top of it they place and carry the water. It is all very interesting.

The women part their hair like the Spanish people. Some have light hair, which is surprising. The girls do not go outside of their rooms except when permitted by their parents. They are very obedient. They marry early, for from what we saw, the women are given husbands seventeen years of age. The men have one wife and no more. The women are the ones who spin, weave, decorate and paint. Some do it as well as the men. They bathe frequently. Their baths are as good as those of New Spain. In all the valleys and land that I have seen there are one hundred pueblos. It [this land] was named Provincia de San Felipe. Possession of it was taken in the name of his majesty by commission of his excellency Don Lorenzo Suárez de Mendoza, count of Coruña, viceroy, governor and captain-general of New Spain.

These people call corn "cunque;" water "pica;" the turkey "dire;" and women "ayu." When they want to drink they say "sesa." They call the cotton blanket . . . [there is a blank]. Their language is easily learned. They are the most domestic and industrious people, the best craftsmen found in New Spain. Accordingly had we brought along interpreters, some of them would have become Christians, because they are a very intelligent people and willing to serve.

Chapter X. How we were informed of the cattle and what distance there was from the province and settlement to the place and land where they were.

While we were at the pueblo which we named Malpartida,⁴³ a league from the discovery that was found and which was called San Mateo, we asked if there were many metals, showing them the

43. It was so named because Father Santa Maria set out from that place on his return to Mexico and met martyrdom a few days later. See below, p. 40 ff. It was the westernmost pueblo in the Galisteo valley. Mecham, *op. cit.*, map facing 272.

samples we brought for that purpose and asking them to take us where the metals were. They immediately brought us a large quantity of metals of different kinds. They brought samples of a copperish steel-like metal. This mineral was rich, as it appeared. It assayed about twenty *maravedis* per hundred-weight. The other metals assayed less. We asked them where-from they brought those metals. They gave us to understand that close by, near the province and pueblo, were many metals, and they thought that part of them came from there.⁴⁴ We went to see them, and mines of different metals were discovered. These Indians pointed out to us that the Indians in the region of the cattle gave them some of those metals.

Some of these people are striped. As they told us of the cattle we asked them what sort of people it was that lived in the region of the cattle, whether they had houses and cultivated corn; whether they wore clothes; and how many days the cattle were from that place, because we wanted to go and see them. [We told them] we would reconcile them with those people. They indicated to us that the people were not striped; that they live on game and eat nothing except meat of the cattle during the winter; that during the rainy season they go in search of prickly pears and dates; that they do not have houses, only huts of cattle-hides; that they move from place to place; that they were their enemies, but they also came to their pueblos with articles of barter, such as deerskins and cattle-hides, for making footwear, and with a large amount of meat in exchange for corn and blankets; that in this way, by conversing with one another, they came to understand their language.

When we heard this and the report of the cattle, we decided to find them, and to explore the land in which they are found. For we realized that a place where there were so many cattle, as they reported, must have good grazing. They had to live in a good country with many plains and plenty of water, according to the number of cattle the natives told us there were. Taking handfuls of dirt they said there were many and that there were many rivers, waterholes and swamps where the cattle roamed. Thus we were much pleased on account of the news they had given us. In reply to our questions they answered that the said cattle were two days from that place. We questioned them why they were so far from the said cattle. They replied that it was on account of the corn fields and cultivated lands, so the cattle would not eat them, for during certain seasons of the year the cattle came within eight leagues of the settlement. They said that the Indians who followed the cattle were very brave people that they used many arrows, and

44. This mineral discovery was in the Cerrillos district. Bandelier, *op. cit.*, II, 93-94.

that they would kill us. But God our Lord inspired us with such courage that we paid no attention to what they told us, and we decided to go and see the said cattle. We told them that inasmuch as the said cattle were so near, some of them should accompany us and that we would kill game for them. They answered that they did not want to, because the people were their enemies, that they were bad people and that they would kill each other and start trouble. As we were too few to force them to go with us, we did not dare do so, preferring to travel without a guide by the route they had indicated to us.

(To be concluded)

MILITARY ESCORTS ON THE SANTA FE TRAIL

(Continued)

By

FRED S. PERRINE

(The first military escort furnished the Santa Fe trade by the federal government, was in 1829, when four companies of the Sixth Infantry, under the command of Major Bennett Riley, left Jefferson Barracks, Mo. May 5, 1829, to protect a caravan of about 79 men and 38 wagons. Major Riley's report was published in the April number of the *New Mexico Historical Review*. The next military escort furnished the Santa Fe trade was that of Company A, United States Dragoons, under the command of Captain Clifton Wharton, in 1834. Captain Wharton's report, which has never been published before, was unearthed through the efforts of Hon. Chas. L. McNary, senior U. S. Senator from Oregon, Mr. Grant Foreman and Mr. Fred S. Perrine, and is herewith published.—*Editor*.)

Report of Captain Clifton Wharton, Company A, United States Dragoon Regiment, covering the Campaign of 1834, of this escort to the Santa Fe Caravan of that year, under the command of Josiah Gregg.

Fort Gibson, 21st July 1834.

Sir.

I have the honor to report to the commanding Genl., the return of my company to this post,¹ and to submit for his information the following narrative of circumstances connected with my late march.

In obedience to orders directing me to conduct my company by the most direct and practicable route to Cow Creek²

1. Fort Gibson was established 1824 on the left bank of the Neosho River, near its mouth, by Colonel Mathew Arbuckle. At first this site was in Arkansas Territory, then by a change of boundaries in the Cherokee Territory. Several attempts were made between 1834 and 1838 to have the garrison moved to Fort Smith. It was finally abandoned in 1857.

2. According to Gregg in his *Commerce of the Prairies* (Early Western Travels Series, vol. xx, p. 93) Cow Creek was located about 249 miles from

at the point where it intersects the trace to Santa fee, and thence to escort the traders destined for Santafee to the supposed boundary of the U. States, I took up the line of march on the 13th of May last for the Ossage agency³ having satisfied myself on diligent enquiry that the most direct rute up the Arkansas valley as was suggested, was an impracticable one, encumbered as I was by a waggon, and that the one by the Agency although not entirely direct would prove by far the best rute.

On the 19th of May* I met Lieut Burguin⁴ of the Dragoons whom the Genl., had sent to Franklin Mo.⁵ to enquire of the traders whether they desired an escort and at what period they would probably set out on their journey, and from him was pleased to learn that the prospect was good of my being able to intercept them. On the 21st of May I reached the agency. At that place* I was under the necessity of halting two days for the purpose of making sundry repairs to the waggon attached to the command, to shoe some horses and to attempt the recovery of several beeves of the commifsariat which had strayed off on the night of the 22d. Our exertions to apprehend them having proved ineffectual, the march was resumed and on the evening of the 24th of May the company encamped about 3 miles beyond the town of the Little Ossages.⁶ As from this

Independence, and he also states in vol. xix, pp. 207-208, "after digging, bridging, shouldering the wheels, with the usual accompaniment of whooping, swearing and cracking of whips, we soon got safely across." Hutchinson, Kansas, is located at its confluence with the Arkansas.

3. The site of the Osage Agency in 1834 has not been definitely located. It was probably in the immediate vicinity of the Harmony Mission on the Osage River in Missouri.

4. John Henry K. Burgwin, who was born in North Carolina, graduated from West Point in the class of 1826, and served three years in the 2nd Inf. On March 4, 1833 was appointed to the Dragoon Regiment, and received his commission as Captain in this regiment July 31, 1837. He died Feby. 7, 1847 of wounds received on the 4th., in the assault on Pueblo de Taos, New Mexico.

5. Franklin, Mo., was the starting point of very many of the Santa Fe caravans, and furnished a large number of the Santa Fe traders.

6. Coues in *Pike's Explorations*, vol. ii. p. 394, states that the town of the Little Ossages was located near the Kansas-Missouri boundary line, Northeast of Fort Scott, Kan., while in Thwaites *Early Western Travels*, vol. xvi, p. 283, this village is located three miles from the Great Osage village and on the Neosho River.

point there was no trail by which I could direct my march I here procured an Indian guide. The character of the country convinced me that the speediest way to reach Cow Creek would be to strike the Santafee trace at the nearest point of it with the view of availing myself of a beaten and good road, but knowing that in endeavouring to reach it at such point there would be some danger of falling in the rear of the traders I directed my course for the South fork of the Neosho river⁷ instead of for Council grove⁸ on the North fork which would have been the nearest point and one at which the traders usually halt a few days to organise themselves, to make repairs &c. . . .

By this course I thought I should expedite my movement, and at the same time increase the chance of striking the tract at a point in advance of the Caravan. The result proved satisfactory, as on reaching on the 3d of June the old trace of the Caravan where it is intersected by the South fork of the Neosho, I discovered that the traders must be in my rear. On the morning of the 4th of June* I dispatched two men of the command back on the trace with orders to proceed to the distance of seventy or eighty miles with the view of learning the position of the Caravan, and when it would probably reach my then encampment, that I might be better able to decide, having regard to my means of subsistence, whether to await its arrival or to proceed immediately to the Buffalo region.

The delay until I could get such information was necessary to recruit the horses of the command very much impaired by the great exertions made to reach the trace in time to effect the object for which my company had been ordered in to the field. Owing to the loss of the horses of the two men detached on this errand the first night after their departure my efforts to communicate with the traders were not only frustrated but I was delayed rather longer

7. By the South Fork of the Neosho River, Wharton evidently means the present Cottonwood River. He is evidently following the same trail from the Osage villages to the Arkansas, as was followed by Pike in 1807-08.

8. See Riley's Report, Note 5.

than I desired to be by exertions which proved ineffectual to apprehend the astray horses.*

On the afternoon of the 18th of June⁹ the Caravan, consisting of nearly a hundred waggons, reached us. I immediately proffered the service of my company as an escort (Appendix No. 1)* and they were accepted.

On the morning of the 10th the Caravan proceeded on its route. No incident worth mentioning occurred until the night of the 17th of June. The Caravan had halted on the right bank of Walnut creek¹⁰ a tributary stream of the Arkansas, my own encampment being between the creek and the waggons. Late in the night one of my sentinels having fired his rifle, which discharge was followed by a fire from a part of the Guard which had hastened to the sentinel's post, the company was immediately formed and promptly proceeded to the spot where the alarm had been given.

No enemy, however, was discovered, and an impression was consequently created that the alarm was a false one. But subsequent occurrences satisfied me that the Guard had not only been vigilant, but correct when they asserted that they had fired on individuals approaching the Camp in a Stealthy manner. On the ensuing morning mockasin tracks were discovered in the vicinity of the spot where the alarm had been given, and Indians, who proved to be of the Kansas tribe, actually came to the camp. In the course of the morning, the Caravan being still at a halt, several individuals and among them my Ossage interpreter went in search of Buffalo. Having espied Indians they returned in haste to the Camp followed for a while by the Indians in quick pursuit. On hearing of this seemingly hostile approach I hastened with my company to the point apparently of danger. The Indians soon came in view rid-

9. Evidently should be the 8th of June.

10. Walnut Creek, according to Thwaites in *Early Western Travel Series* vol. xvi, p. 229 note 107, a large stream flowing east from Lane through Ness, Rush and Barton counties, and reaching the Arkansas four miles below the town of Great Bend, Kansas.

ing slowly with our interpreter at their head, a fact that of course convinced me that they were of some friendly tribe. A disposition to fire on them was notwithstanding evinced by several irresponsible persons attached to the Caravan who had hastened to meet them and which I had some difficulty in subduing, the persons concerned having insisted that these Indians should not approach the Caravan. Recognising the Indians as Kanzas, a people with whom we have a treaty and among whom resides an agency of our Government, their approach too being in a friendly manner, for what had been construed into hostility on their part, in their pursuit of some of the traders they accounted for by saying that their only object was to overtake them to convince them that they were friends, a fact they at length succeeded in communicating to the Interpreter by some signals made to him. I felt that as an officer of the Army I could not witness without a remonstrance any act towards them on the part of our Citizens which would have a tendency to disturb the pacific relations existing between them and our Government. Having shaken hands with these Indians I conducted them, from a regard to the view of the traders who objected to their approaching the Caravan, to a spot some distance from the waggon and there had a talk with them.

This party with which there was a Chief having left us, I was visited in the afternoon by another small party of the same tribe having a Chief at its head also. He brought with him a treaty made between the Kanzas and our Government which he desired me to read. I recognised it as an authentic document, told him so, and assured him of our friendly disposition, which it was evident the scene of the morning had led him to doubt. I mentioned to him the presence of Indians near our encampment the night before, and expressed my belief that they were some of his people. He assured me it was not the case; I am notwithstanding, however, persuaded that a small party of the Kanzas, probably without the approbation or knowledge of

their Chiefs, had approached the Caravan the night previous with a view to steal horses an object which was frustrated by the vigilance of my guard.

We took up the line of march again on the 19th of June. On the morning of the 20th of the month on the ridge of hills bordering the valley of the Arkansas and while approaching the point where the Santafee trace is intersected by the Arkansas, information was communicated to me that the Indians, supposed to be the Comanches, were ahead of us, that they had pursued two traders who had been in advance, and that they were coming towards us. I immediately conducted my company forward with the view, if I could not from the very small number of men disposable, about forty successfully resist an attack, at least to hold the savages in check long enough to enable the Caravan to form a square. I soon met the Indians who were in the act of forming something like a line. I immediately ordered the company into line also with the intention of making a charge, we were then within sixty feet of each other, but at this moment the Comanches, for such they proved to be, became loud and active in their professions of friendship,, some calling out in Spanish "*buenos amigos, buenos amigos*, good friends, good friends," while another was equally clamorous exclaiming in broken English, "how do you do, how do you do."

They also unfolded a flag a Spanish one which it was evident they intended as a token of peace. Not content with these friendly demonstrations some of them dismounted, and, having thrown their weapons on the ground, approached us offering their hands, while others discharged their guns in the air. Such overtures of peace amounting almost to subjection I felt bound to regard, and accordingly refrained from hostilities. The Indians retired, but not without a close observation on our part, the Caravan moved forward again, and in a very short time we reached that point where the waggons cross the Arkansas, and then encamped; The number of Comanches, (known to the In-

dians generally by the name of Patokas) whom we had met was about forty, encamped, however about a mile distant and on the opposite shore there were others making in all probably about one hundred warriors. After we had pitched our tents a few of the traders fell in with on the left bank of the river a similar number of Indians. The meeting was represented to me as quite a friendly one, and I consequently determined to avail myself of the first opportunity that offered to hold a council with these people whom United States troops had now met, I believe, for the second time only, and for the first in a spirit of amity.¹¹ This opportunity was soon afforded by the presence on the other shore and directly opposite to us of four or five of the Comanches calling out to us in a seemingly friendly manner in their own language. Accompanied by one of the officers of my command and by the Captain of the traders, I crossed the river, met the Comanches and shook hands with them. Through a man whom I had along with me and who had once been a few months in their villages they expressed their desire that we should visit their encampment, offering as an inducement a plenty of fat Buffalo meat with which they would make a feast for us. I had commenced my endeavours to have a talk with them when they became alarmed by the numbers whose curiosity had induced them to cross from our side of the river and who were approaching us. The Indians at first manifested a wish to retire but on my urging them to stay, they dispatched off a messenger, and ere long a large number was seen leaving their camp, and approaching us on foot with a flag displayed.

On their stating that the principal Chief was not then present, and their desire that we should see him I proposed to them that in the afternoon five individuals of each party and only five, should meet on their side of the river with a view of having a friendly talk and a Smoke.

11. Referring undoubtedly to the escort of 1829 under Major Bennett Riley. An instance that would go to show that there had been no federal escort furnished Santa Fe traders, between 1829, and the present escort of 1834.

On their assenting to this proposal I returned to Camp. A short time after this interview, the Indians, whom I have mentioned as having been seen advancing from their Camp with a flag displayed, having in the meantime reached the point where I had just had the meeting alluded to, I was informed that many of the traders were in the act of conducting a piece of artillery to a point opposite that at which the Indians were Quietly standing in a large group with the avowed intention of firing on them. I hastened immediately to the Captain of the Caravan to remonstrate against the measure, not only as a violation of my pledge of a friendly disposition towards the Indians and one which would effectually prevent the meeting which I had proposed should take place between us, as an act of positive cruelty.

While I was engaged thus on this subject, one of the officers of my company fearing the rashness of the traders dragging the cannon forward would precipitate difficulties from which it would not be easy to extricate them, hastened to the spot to which the piece of ordnance had been drawn and urgently protested against any hostile act towards the Indians on the opposite shore. He received in reply much personal abuse with even threats of personal violence. The Captain of the traders at this juncture interfered and the act contemplated was not carried into execution. I have introduced for the General's notice this incident to show him the difficulty of preserving harmony between a military escort and a set of irresponsible individuals such as those who were concerned in the measure alluded, to for I have pleasure in adding that none of the many intelligent and respectable persons interested in the Caravan took any part in the scene I have been describing. The termination of this affair was followed by a disappointment which has been a source of great regret to me. I had entertained strong hopes of effecting much good at the meeting to take place in the afternoon between the Comanches and myself. It is true I had no special authority to hold a council with, or, to make overtures or promises to, the Indian tribes

whom I might meet on my march, I conceived, however, it would not be transcending my duty on all proper occasions to endeavour to impress on the minds of the Indians the desire of our Government to be at peace with them, and that they should be at peace with each other. In furtherance of this opinion it was my intention to have said to the Comanches, that our people and theirs had little acquaintance with each other, that we had heard of them, however, and desired to be their friends if they would act in such a manner towards our people as to justify our friendship. Having heard an opinion expressed before I left this Post, that the command which it was designed to send into the Pawnee Pict country this summer would be so large a one as effectually to prevent any meeting whether pacific or otherwise between it and the Pawnees, for the reason that the latter would disperse and avoid the former from apprehension; and knowing the desire felt to effect through that command the liberation of the Ranger Abbey,¹² supposed to be yet alive and in captivity among those savages, I thought the occasion a most fortunate and opportune one, to promote what I conceived to be the views of the Government in the case, and to serve the cause of humanity I had therefore intended to say also to the Comanches, neighbours of the Pawnee Picts, and frequently mistaken for them, that there were a great many of our people coming soon towards their country, that they were friendly disposed towards them, and that therefore should they hear of, or see those people of ours they must not be alarmed and run away, but they should go forward and meet them and shake hands, and have a talk with them, and that the other kindred tribes ought to do the same. It was not my intention to have said a word about the special objects of the

12. The expedition here mentioned was under the command of General Henry Leavenworth, but after his death on July 21, 1834., the campaign was successfully brought to an end under the command of Colonel Henry Dodge. The expedition was made for the express purpose of recovering from the Indians, Matthew Wright Martin, a white boy, and Ranger George B. Abbey, both of whom had been captured in 1833. See *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, vol. ii, number 3, "Journal of Hugh Evans," edited by Fred S. Perrine, for particulars regarding this expedition.

command in visiting that section of country, but to prevent the frustration of those objects by any alarm on the part of the Indians causing them to avoid the command. But the opportunity to make these statements I lost. While engaged in writing in my tent, the Captain of the Caravan, who was present when the contemplated meeting was agreed upon, on seeing some Indians again on the opposite shore, without giving me any notice crossed over, as I was informed, with precisely four individuals thus making the number it was agreed should attend the meeting on our part. He met the Comanches, and, as I was told, having laconically said to them, "We are disposed to be friends, but you must keep off, and if you do not, the Soldiers, meaning my command, will fire upon you," returned to camp, the Indians retiring also. Thus, Sir, was my object in this matter entirely defeated, an object, which I thought, if attained, would have essentially promoted the views of the commanding General, and views which he had very much at heart.¹³

Having now reached the generally supposed boundary line of the country beyond which no escort had heretofore, with one exception, ever passed, it became proper that I should duly survey all circumstances effecting the welfare of my command at so great a distance as it was from aid or supplies, as well as those connected with the safety of the Caravan. Accordingly on the 26th of June I ordered a Board of officers to report on the condition of the waggon and waggon horses attached to the command. The Board

13. This is but another instance showing that while asking military aid and escort, the traders were inclined to paddle their own canoe. The above instance recorded by Captain Wharton, of members of the caravan placing a piece of artillery in position to annihilate a band of Indians who were professedly friendly, is only one of a great many of similar intent. While Gregg, who was supposed to be an honorable man, evidently deprecated the length to which some of his men had gone on this occasion, he showed his true colors later in the day, by crossing the river, meeting the Indians who were undoubtedly awaiting the arrival of Captain Wharton for a peace talk and smoke, and, unknown to Captain Wharton, telling the Indians, assembled for a council with an officer of the United States Army, that they had better keep away, or the soldiers would fire on them.

pronounced both "unfit for the service that will be required of them"—(Appendix No. 2)*

In answer to a call on the assistant commissary for a statement of provisions on hand, that officer reported "four barrels of flour, fifty pounds of pork about, from twenty to thirty pounds of sugar, from eighty to one hundred pounds of coffee." By a remark of the Commissary (Appendix No. 3)* it would seem that at this time even at the reduced allowance on which the command [had] been for some time previously the quantity of flour was not equal to twenty days supply.

The condition of the company and pack horses I ascertained myself. The former were very much reduced in flesh and proportionably debilitated; the latter were equally so, some of them having also such diseased backs as to make them incapable of bearing but the most trifling weight, - two were positively unfit for service. In reflecting next on the dangers to which the Caravan might be exposed on the residue of its route, I felt that it would be my duty, as it would have been my inclination, to continue with it so long as a foe was menacing, it, and even after that foe had retired to accompany it, should future danger justly be apprehended, to such a point as my supplies and my orders would allow me to proceed, taking care, in reference to my orders, that in exercising any discretion which they allowed me, I did not violate any injunction with regard to which I had no discretion given me. The recent friendly demonstrations of the Comanches induced me to think that the traders were in no danger of an attack from them. Two or three stragglers from the Caravan, it was not improbable, would incur risk from meeting a small party of that people but I did not believe with due circumspection, avoiding the commencement of hostilities, and exercising a proper vigilance, the Caravan had much to fear, for I was told by the traders themselves that there never yet had been any deliberate or formidable attack attempted against them by the savage tribes through whose

hunting grounds the Caravan yearly pafsed. It was after I had the friendly interview with some of the Comanches alluded to in another part of this communication that I addrefsd the Captain of the traders a letter stating how far the nature of my orders and the state of my supplies would allow me to accompany him. (Appendix No. 4) *

On the following morning, the 27th of June, the Caravan crofsed the Arkansas accompanied by my command, and in the course of the day I received a letter in reply to mine of the day before. (Appendix No. 5) *

In his communication my attention is called to certain rumours of an intended attack on the Caravan. These rumours I had heard after joining the traders, and only regarded them as rumours, and to which it seemed to me evident the traders themselves had not attached much importance, as they had heard them before leaving Mifssouri, had made no unusual preparations for defense in consequence of them, indeed, had set out with an [no] expectation of having an escort as usual on their route, for the meeting with my company was entirely unlooked for. The Afsertion of Captain Gregg that the Comanches were seen at the time of his writing me menacing the Camp, looking from all sides into it I am at a lofs to account for. The waggons effected the pafsage of the river, a tedious operation, without the least molestation, a few Comanches at a considerable distance off looking on, no doubt, in a spirit of curiosity, and it was not until we were entirely over, as if in fear of some attack from us, that they ventured down into the valley. They then descended, the party consisting of not more than ten or twelve, to our late encampment, and, like true Indians, endeavoured to find such things as had been abandoned by us. Through the subsequent part of the day I saw nothing of them, but I heard that a small party of the traders taking a flag with them with the view of decoying the Indians from their Camp, about two miles below ours, had set out with the intention of firing on the Comanches should they suc-

ceed in getting those Indians from their own encampment., Captain Gregg, having in his letter, in view of the dangers he apprehended to the Caravan, requested me to afford it protection to the utmost limit of my discretion, I determined at once to apprise him of the point beyond which under any circumstances I could not accompany the Caravan, and accordingly addresd him another communication (Appendix 6)* informing him that point was where the Santafee trace is intersected by the Semirone river, a stream which I believe is considered clearly within the limits of Mexico. To have gone beyond that point I would have been under the necefsity, owing to the condition of my horses and the state of my supplies, for the purpose of recruiting the former and of replenishing the latter, of taking my company into the very settlements of Mexico, (See appendix Capt. Smith's Letter)* a step which would have been a flagrant violation of my instructions, as I was directed "not on any account" to go "within what may be clearly and fairly known to be the jurisdiction of the Mexican Republic." The gentleman to whom this last letter was addresd, having on the way of its reception resigned his office as Captain, the communication was handed to his sucefsor from whom I received one in reply (Appendix No. 7)* In this reply a desire is expresd that I would accompany the Caravan as far as the Canadian fork of the Arkansas, called, I was told, the *Rio Colorado* by the Mexicans, but if I could not proceed so far the services of my company are declined. As I had already stated the reasons which would prevent my going so far it now only remained for me to make my arrangements for a return march. Accordingly, I directed the waggon of the Qrmasters department to be sold, as also all stores, tools, medicines, &c., not actually indispensable, a measure rendered necessary by the very limited means of transportation left me. On the morning of the 28th of June the Caravan proceeded on its journey, no Comanches, or other Indians, since early on the previous morning having been seen, indeed

the Comanches broke up their encampment on the evening of the 27th, and, as I was informed by some of my men, who were on the lookout, went off in an Easterly direction. After seeing the traders off I recrofsed the Arkansas with my command, and took up the line of march for this place. On the 13th inst. I reached the Ossage agency and on the 19th arrived at this post, my last ifsue of flour having been made the day before. The horses are nearly broken down many entirely so two I was obliged to leave behind, one at the agency, the other at an Indian village on this side.

On my return march between the Arkansas and the Pawnee fork of that river I met a party of the Pawnee Mahaus, a people whom the Santafee traders look upon as decided enemies. To us, however, they acted in the most friendly manner, insisting on our halting to have a talk and smoke with them. Having acceded to their wishes a council was regularly held at which the professions of friendship usual on such occasions were cheerfully exchanged. Between Walnut and Cow creeks two tributary streams of the Arkansas I met the Konsas and the Little Ossage. They also were very friendly.

On parting with the traders I found it was not practicable to have "an exprefs understanding with them as to the time they will return" as was required of me in the orders I received from Col. Dodge. Various interests and views are connected with this trade. Some proprietors dispose of their goods by wholesale, others add to the stock of a regular establishment in Santafee, others again stop at Tous, while there are many who penetrating into the settlements more in the interior of the country there vend their merchandise &c by retail, hence it is not pofsible for them to say with certainty until they reach Santafee when they will set out on their return. This much, however, I learned; that it would take about thirty days from the time of the departure of the Caravan from the Arkansas for it to reach Santafee, that generally the traders stop in Mexico

about six weeks, and that on their return their movements are much more expeditious than on going out. Allowing them thirty days from the 28th of June for the residue of their journey out, six weeks for delay in Mexico, and twenty days to return as far as the Arkansas, an escort might meet them where they cross that river between the 25th of Sept and the 7th of Oct next. It is my opinion that no escort on the Caravan need accompany it farther on its route than Walnut creek; there I am told, the wag-gons usually begin to separate and thereafter little or no danger is apprehended. From Walnut creek a nearly due East course will conduct an escort, on its return, to Cow creek, thence to the little Arkansas, and thence by the well beaten trail of the little Osages to the little Osage town which is but fifteen miles from the residence of the agent. It was by this route I returned myself without meeting any difficulties on it. It is not a practicable one for a waggon, and in a very high stage of water might give some trouble even to horsemen, as streams are crossed not very far from their mouths. It would always, however, be in the power of a commander to take a parallel line higher up stream without extending his route much should he find the waters low down presenting obstacles to his advance. An escort going out from this place to accompany the Caravan on its outward journey I would advise to proceed as far as the little Arkansas before halting for the traders. No protection, I think, would be needed by them before their arrival at that point, and there Buffaloe are to be found and the grazing is good. While speaking of the route, I beg leave to say a few words on the subject of the necessity of an escort. So long as the Indian tribes within our territory are at peace with us and each other I do not think the Caravan has to fear any regular attack on it within our boundary unless in the immediate vicinity of it, and then only from those tribes of Indians with whom we have little intercourse. Horse thieves may follow it, and a small party of young warriors might rob a straggling trader even near

the limits of Missouri, but past experience shows that any organized regular attack is not to be apprehended. It is between the Arkansas river and the *Rio Colorado* indeed to within seventy miles of Santafee that the greatest danger exists, and the fact, that all protection but that afforded by a few Mexican Troops, who proceed no farther north than the *Rio Colorado*, is withdrawn at the moment peril commences, *acts morally*, I think, to place the traders in a worse situation for defense against that danger than they would be if no escort had previously accompanied them, for while the withdrawal of the troops inspires confidence in the Indians, their previous presence will have the effect of causing a habit of negligence and lack of vigilance on the part of the traders which present danger would scarce prove a timely remedy for. If, therefore, the trade is deemed of sufficient importance to the people of both countries, it is made between our Government and that of Mexico for its greatly to be desired, that some special arrangement was due protection after it shall have passed the supposed boundary of our Country and ere the Caravan shall have reached the settlements of Mexico, either by allowing our troops to go to said settlements there to remain until the return of the Caravan, or by causing the Mexican troops to meet those of the United States on the supposed boundary line of the two Countries.

I propose sending to the Genl. so soon as my health, which has been indifferent since my return, will allow me, extracts from a private journal kept by me during the march. These extracts will embrace all the information I could gather on such points as the Genl. desired information and which he directed I should cause to be noted in a journal.

In closing this report I feel it due to the officers and men of my late Command to say, that on the several occasions on which they were suddenly called out by alarms in Camp they repaired to their Posts with an alacrity which would have done credit to much older Soldiers, conduct, which, added to the coolness they displayed in such in-

stances, inspired me with a degree of confidence in them calculated to supply any want of numbers to meet an opposing foe. To Lieut. Luptons' energy, promptness and ingenuity as assistant Commissary and Acting Quartermaster I was particularly indebted for facilities in both the Departments of which he had charge. He will be found an active Staff officer on any subsequent occasion requiring services of him in that capacity. Finally, Sir, I refer the Genl. to two communications addressed to me by the Santa-fee traders on the eve of our separation. (Appendix Nos. 8 & 9)*

If to the approbation of my fellow citizens, as expressed in these documents I may be able to add that of the Commanding Genl. I shall be amply compensated for no inconsiderable fatigue and exposure on my late march.

I am, Sir, respectfully

your ob ser,

(signed)

Clifton Wharton

Cap of Dragoons

Lieut H. Swartwout

A. D. C. Adjutant Genl

Fort Towson.

P. S. In the appendix will be found copies of orders issued on the March.

C. W.

A copy of these two letters, (Nos. 8 and 9) was printed in the *St. Louis Republican*, dated August 26, 1834. The text of the letters as printed is the same as shown above, but there is a little discrepancy in the initials and names of the signers of letter No. 9. As shown in the *Republican* the signers were;

T. J. Boggs

J. L. Collins

Saml. Miller

Jas. B. Turley

J. T. Wood

Wm. Hook

Josiah Gregg

James Sutton

P. A. Masure

Brossard

J. G. Smith

A. J. Rains

Ed Charless

I am very deeply indebted to Miss Stella M. Drumm, Librarian of the Missouri Historical Society for the following information regarding a few of these signers, as follows:

Thomas J. Boggs, was a son of Gov. Lilburn W. Boggs, and was a great friend of Kit Carson. He was in the Santa Fe trade for many years, spending the most of his time in and around Fort Bent.

P. A. Masure was Dr. Philippe Auguste Masure, born in Belgium and came to St. Louis about 1827. In 1846 Dr. Masure went to Santa Fe, and seems to have remained in New Mexico or Mexico, the remainder of his life, for I find no record of his having ever returned.

Edward Charless, was born in Philadelphia April 12, 1799. Married Miss Jane Stoddard at St. Charles, Mo., in March 1823, and died June 22, 1848.

Brassard, I think must be Brosseau, as there were two men of that name living in St. Louis in 1833, and no Brassard.

A. J. Rains carried the title of Major, and made a trip to California in the early thirties, returning to St. Louis in August, 1833.

It is interesting to note that Captain Wharton, seems to imply, that there were other Government escorts furnished the Santa Fe trade, prior to 1834, and in addition to the escort under Major Riley, in 1829, for he states in letter No. 4 to Captain Gregg: "My company of Dragoons, having accompanied as an escort . . . so far as the supposed boundary line of the United States, and beyond which line *no previous escort with one exception*, has felt itself at liberty to pass" Here Captain Wharton distinctly states that one other escort, had crossed this line, and *infers* that other escorts had come only as far as this line. He again states; "The traders themselves . . . had set out with no expectation of having an escort *as usual* on their route," here implying that escorts had *usually* been furnished. Had only one escort ever been furnished, that of Major Riley in 1829, no mention could have been made of the *usual* escort; and again Gregg in his letter of the 27th

of June to Captain Wharton says: "although it is well known that your Company is beyond Comparison the *smallest escort* that has heretofore accompanied a 'Santa Fe' expedition, . . . yet . . . the Protection it has afforded us has been equal to that of any *previous escort*."

From the evidence at hand it is safe to assume that other escorts were furnished the Santa Fe trade between the years 1829 and 1834, although the War Department, are seemingly unable to show any records of such escorts.

The next government escort of which we have knowledge, was furnished evidently for two different caravans in 1843, under the command of Captain Philip St. George Cooke, of the 1st Regiment of Dragoons.

Dr. Reuben Gold Thwaites, in Gregg's *Commerce of the Prairies*, Early Western Series, vol. xix p. 187, states regarding Captain Cooke: "his first active service was connected with the Black Hawk War in 1832," but we find him performing very active service with Major Riley in the capacity of 2nd Lieutenant in the 6th Infantry in 1829.

Cooke writes of the Riley escort in 1829 in his *Scenes and Adventures in the Army* (New York 1857 and Philadelphia 1859), and before taking up the escorts of 1843 it possibly might be well to see what he has to say relative to the escort of 1829. A brief resumé of his experiences with Major Riley follows:

Four companies of the 6th Infantry were ordered filled up, officers and men by selection, and were ordered to march as the *first* escort of the annual caravan of traders, going and returning between Western Missouri and Santa Fe. This detachment left Jefferson Barracks, Mo., May 4, 1829, and arrived ten days later at Cantonment Leavenworth. They were not to march for a week or two, as arrangements for meeting the traders at Round Grove some fifty miles west had already been made. On the fifth of June they started, marched seven miles the first day to a point where half of the baggage wagons were

stuck in the Little Platte River for the night. For breakfast the next morning the mess to which Lieutenant Cooke belonged regaled themselves on "cub" meat.

A laborious march of five days more brought them to the limits of the "Grand Prairie." Here was the last house on the route, occupied by "old Major C -----," sub-agent of the Delawares.

The next days' march of twenty-six miles was a dry one with no water until they arrived that night at Round Grove. The caravan of traders was here met, about seventy in number with about half as many wagons, with mule and a few horse teams. The caravan was here organized and Mr. B----- of St. Louis was elected Captain.

Marching from 15 to 20 miles a day for five or six days, the caravan and its escort arrived at Council Grove, "a beautiful piece of timber, through which runs the Neosho River." After leaving Council Grove the monotony of the prairie was only occasionally relieved by a fringe of trees along a creek bottom. Near the first cry of "buffaloé buffaloé" was heard.

After leaving the Cottonwood branch of the Arkansas, the first night's encampment was on Raccoon Creek, which was the last creek they saw on the way out. After traveling something like 130 miles, in view of the Arkansas, or "its adjoining scenery," they reached the valley of the upper Arkansas it being about a mile wide; mile after mile of the prairie was black with buffalo. One entire morning was spent passing through herds of buffalo, who opened in front and closed up in the rear of the caravan, leaving a clear path of scarcely 300 yards. This same morning the caravan was charged by a buffalo bull, who although fired at by the officers, and chased by the dogs, dashed between two wagons, frightening the oxen, only to fall dead in a few seconds.

About the middle of July, Chouteau's Island, the limit of the escort's march, was descried. This beautiful island was carpeted with green grass and covered by "leafy

groves." The Arkansas River was here the boundary between the United States and Mexico.

This was the first caravan on which any oxen had been used, and this year they were used by the military escort only. The traders had mule and horse teams. Cooke says; "our oxen were an experiment and it succeeded admirably."

Here the caravan was to leave its escort and proceed toward Santa Fe alone. The escort encamped on the North side of the Arkansas near a grove of timber where grass and fuel were to be obtained, and intended passing the summer in this vicinity, awaiting the return of the caravan from Santa Fe. A few hours after the departure of the caravan, a number of horsemen were seen riding furiously toward Major Riley's camp. They brought the news that the caravan had been attacked by an innumerable host of Indians at a distance of five or six miles from the camp. Major Riley hesitated not a moment, camp was broken and "tents vanished as if by magic."

After spilling a cup of hot coffee in his shoe, which resulted in the skin coming off his foot with his stocking, Cooke was placed in command of the rear guard. The escort reached the caravan at a little after midnight and found everything quiet, and it remained so until dawn. At the break of day it was seen that the encampment was in a virtual cul-de-sac. A natural amphitheatre, surrounded by sand hills, about fifty feet high and all within gun shot, with a very narrow entrance, and a smaller outlet. Camp was moved, and the hills were occupied.

It seems that some mounted traders had ridden on ahead of the caravan notwithstanding they had been advised to keep close together; and had been surrounded by about 50 Indians. All fled with the exception of "a Mr. Lamb" as Cooke says, the largest capitalist and owner of the company. It was decided that the escort accompany the traders one day further. At noon, a terrific sand storm came up. After advancing about ten miles further a little

grass and water was found, also a few buffalo. In the nearly dry pools of water the small fish were dead, killed by the intense heat of the sun.

The next morning Major Riley determined to march no farther. The traders held a council and about half of them decided to remain behind and spend the summer with the escort, but they were soon shamed out of this decision. At day-break following, the escort started to return to their camp at Chouteau's Island. No further adventures were had on the way, except one night a sentinel fired a shot at a dog, but missed. This alarm however turned out the men.

Cooke states that the vicinity of Chouteau's Island was further remarkable, for a "timbered bottom" which stands "opposite its foot on the American side." They had seen no other timber since leaving Council Grove, 300 miles back.

While encamped at the Island, the terms of enlistment of four men expired, and against the wishes of the commander, and the advice of their friends, they started to walk back to Missouri, on August 1. The same night three of them returned. The fourth had been killed about 15 miles from the camp, while in the act of shaking hands and giving tobacco to some supposedly friendly Indians who had met them.

On the 2nd Captain Wickliffe with Lieutenant Cooke and 50 men, and one of the three survivors were ordered to search for the body of the murdered man and bury it. Their guide however became bewildered and could not locate the spot where they had been attacked.

On the 3rd another party under Lieutenant Izard recovered the remains and buried them. On this same day Cooke heard a "great yelling and uproar" and saw the horses and cattle being stampeded by about 400 to 500 Indians. The 6 pounder was fired at them and "the grape shot struck like hail" around them, but did not seem to hit any one. The Indians managed to drive off some of

the livestock of the command without much other damage being done.

When the camp had been established at Chouteau's Island, the men had dug and constructed wells with flour barrels, clear and cool water being struck at from two to four feet. One well was dug in front of each company. Sod fireplaces had also been built, which had net-work platforms of buffalo hide stretched for the purpose of smoking and drying buffalo meat. These platforms also served as a defense against mounted men.

On August 11, camp was removed down the river a few miles for better grazing for the horses and cattle. This same day Captain Pentland with 18 men and wagon and team were sent across the river after buffalo, which were about half a mile away. As Indians had been seen, Captain Wickliffe had been ordered to support Captain Pentland in case he was attacked. One of the men, Bugler King, was shot and killed by the Indians, and Captain Wickliffe's company was fired upon when they reached a sand bar in the middle of the river on their way to the support of Captain Pentland. King was killed and scalped, and his body was left on the field by Captain Pentland and his detail. That night, Aug. 11, there was a terrific storm, as Cooke states, "there came a falling flood, the roar of whose approach appalled our shaken hearts." The next day Bugler King was buried.

The condition of the escort was "humiliating," surrounded as they were by "these rascally redskins" who by means of their horses could "tantalize us and yet elude all our efforts."

It was learned afterward from some Mexican traders that the caravan had been spied upon the whole route from Council Grove and that the Indians had thought the oxen were "white buffalo." After the cattle had been stampeded and some killed by the Indians on the 3rd, it was found that the Indians had cut out all the *white spots* on the oxen they had killed and taken these pieces away with them. They were very likely considered "big medicine."

While waiting for the return of the caravan from Santa Fe, time hung very heavily on the command. There were only two or three books in the camp, and the men spent most of their time making powder horns from the horns of the buffalo. Some were very beautifully carved, polished and inlaid with bone. The evenings were spent around the camp fire telling "yarns,"

Near the end of August, a white man was seen approaching the camp on foot. He was recognized as Corporal Arter, who had been left at Cantonment Leavenworth. With a companion he had been sent with dispatches by General Leavenworth. A few days before they had been beset by a band of Indians, and Nation, Arter's companion, had been wounded by a spear thrust, as he was in the act of shaking hands and giving tobacco to the Indians. Arter had stood off the Indians, helped him to the river, built him a shelter, and started off on foot to reach the camp of the escort. A detachment was sent out and found Nation about 12 to 15 miles from the camp. He lingered some weeks and then passed away.

The 10th of October had been named by the traders, and agreed upon by the commanding officer of the escort, as the very day, which the escort would wait. The 10th of October arrived, and no caravan, and although the weather was decidedly colder, it was decided to wait one day more. Bright and early on the morning of the 12th the start on the return trip was made. About nine o'clock horsemen were seen following the escort at full speed. The battalion halted and formed for action. It was then seen that the riders were white men. The caravan was a few miles beyond the river, and was accompanied by a Mexican escort under Colonel "Viscarro,"¹⁶ Inspector General of the Mexican Army. A few days before that they had been met by several hundreds of Arapahoes and Comanches "(our old friends)," on foot, who were evidently on a horse stealing expedition.

16. See *N. Mex. Hist. Rev.*, ii, p. 190, note 20.

While talking with these Indians, one of the Chiefs with whom Colonel Viscarro was talking, leveled his gun and fired at Colonel Viscarro. One of the Colonel's Indians sprang between them, and received the bullet in his heart. His brother, standing near, stabbed the chief in the back as he turned to escape, and another chief was shot by an American. The Indians then fled. It was not ascertained whether or not the Mexican Regulars shed any blood on this occasion, but on the other hand "we were assured that the cruelty and barbarity of some of the Americans disgusted even the Mexicans and Spaniards; That they scalped one Indian at least, who had life enough left to contend against it, though without arms; and they undoubtedly took the skin from some bodies, and stretched it on their wagons. I, myself, saw several scalps dangling as ornaments to the bridle of a trader."

Being rejoined by the caravan, the return march was again taken up on October 14, and on November 8th, "our tatterdemalion veterans" marched into Cantonment Leavenworth.

In giving the details of the trips of 1843, Cooke breaks away from a narrative style, and what information he gives, comes to us in the form of a dialogue between a friend and himself. We will give the salient points in his own words.

Sept. 1 Six miles from Council Grove. Waiting for the caravan to come up. Today we arrived at Council Grove and were received with presented arms by a company of dragoons, - which makes a fourth. . . . Hundreds of wagons, and nearly all of them have Mexican owners. Look at the men, they show ivories as white as negroes; they are Indians, but New Mexicans as well, and speak Spanish. Herds of mules in every valley, on every hill, and hundreds of oxen too. . . It is unhealthy here, many who have stayed a week are sick; the dragoon company has been waiting three days, and they are already suffering.

Sept. 3. Diamond Spring, a true "Diamond of the Desert," a Pearl of the Prairie-were pearls but as transparent as its cold and crystal waters.

Cottonwood Fork, Sept. 6. I find Mr. Robidoux here,

with a dozen light horse carts; he has a trading house three hundred miles beyond Santa Fe. . . . This, Turkey Creek, which I left this morning, should have a truer name; it is a cold and rainy place, without fuel, and no turkey or other living thing did I ever see there, save a squad of horse-stealing Indians, which we once surprised at dark, after a forced march. Three months ago we had nearly frozen there in the rain. . . .

Antelopes, the first we had seen. There are four of them; two are this year's fawns. What fidelity in brutes. They are a family. It is here we first saw some in June.

Sept. 9. All day it has rained again. We have been lying still trying to keep dry and warm, on the banks of the Little Arkansas. There are a few green trees and bushes, but little fuel. Worst of all is the case of the poor horses—they are starving and freezing before our eyes, for the grass is very coarse and poor. . . . Fiercer and colder rages the storm; faster pours the pitiless rain: it does us more injury than a forced march of sixty miles;— and the traders! Where are they?

Sept. 11. A squadron of dragoons came last evening from the South; according to *them* with orders to relieve us; but they are broken down and on the back track. Having pretty thoroughly exhausted the prairie plum crop, and the buffalo being washed away to far hill tops, they were now prone to the land of pork and beans.

Sept. 12. Even until this morning did the cold rainy weather hold out. Now, it is gloriously clear, and the wind settled at the northwest. . . . This is the fifth day that the caravan has been coming forty three miles, and I know not where they are, but have sent to see..

Sept. 14. Owl Creek, a bright noonday, a fresh breeze rattling among the shining green leaves overhead, belie the ill-omened name. * * The traders have managed to bring up to the Little Arkansas, about one fourth of the wagons: forty three miles in six days.

Sept. 17. We have had some luck in incidents on this desert; or, the 'trace' is growing a frequented highway. The day before yesterday eight horsemen approached the camp from the west. I thought they were Indians, or possibly, part of a Mexican escort. Before they were recognized, another column of horse, apparently, rapidly approached. . . . They were the spring caravan on their re-

turn, and a drove of mules were the column of horse. They bring the certain news of their having reached Santa Fe in safety. They returned by Bent's Fort, and so can give us little information of the dangerous part of the direct route which the present caravan is to follow.

Sept. 18. (Arkansas River)

Sept. 21. Coon Creek-Phoebus! What a name. There is a tribe of them: long crooked shallow beds, with a string of pools in each, and if it be a dry time, they are rendered undrinkable by the buffalo; this is the 'same coon' where there was no grass in the summer, but now it is better; . .

Sept. 22. Delightful, truly, to escort two hundred wagons with twelve owners, independently disposed, and sharply interested in carrying out different views of emergencies; the failure of water, grass or fuel."

And so runs the story of the Escort of 1843. On October 1st., Cooke received a letter from the traders, stating that they required his escort to "Red River" - nearly to Santa Fe; and a little later a confidential messenger arrived, and secretly advised Cooke, that the escort need go no further than the regular crossing of the Arkansas, as long as Mr. Bent was kept in ignorance of the fact, that the caravan was to proceed from the Arkansas to Santa Fe, without an escort!

The caravan, at last arrived at the crossing of the Arkansas, where it was met by another messenger, who stated that there was a Mexican escort waiting a few miles above. "They were 50 lancers-an advance party—' a forlorn hope' of 150 more, who would not trust their carcasses on this disputed ground, further than the Cimerone."

The next morning, leaving the baggage, I marched to the crossing in my best style; on our approach we saw the Mexicans beyond the river, saddle and mount; but on our dismounting, they were dismissed. The Adjutant rode over to make inquiries, and invite them to cross and spend the day with us. Their commander declined, with the pointed excuse, that he was ordered on no account to cross 'the boundary'. . . . Receiving their hint with a good grace, as soon as the caravan was over, we mounted in order of battle and as a significant salute, fired a round from the howitzer battery; the shells were directed in ricochet down a fine

reach of the river between us, and after a dozen beautiful rebounds, exploded under water, to the manifest astonishment of the aborigines amongst our suspicious allies. Then, turning our faces homeward, we filed off,—returned and slept in the camp where we had left our baggage.

After a cold journey the command arrived at Fort Leavenworth, the date not being stated.

Thus the history of the escort to the Santa Fe Caravan of 1843.

* On the 15th of May, 1834 the following order was issued;—

Camp Prior.

(Order No. 5)

May 15th 1834.

I. This Command is now beyond the last civilized settlement on this frontier and altho' not in an enemy's country, is nevertheless thrown on its own exertions to sustain itself as well by a careful preservation of the means it has of subsistence & defense, as by a watchful foresight to increase its supplies, and to add to the ability of protecting itself economy then becomes indispensable and is strictly enjoyed. Rations must scrupulously be taken care of, and in no case will anything be heedlessly thrown away, altho' not required for immediate consumption; The ammunition of the Command is of a value only to be estimated by the utter impossibility of replacing it, if it shall have been expended before our return to our post, for besides being necessary for our defence against Hostile Attacks, it may prove indispensable as a means to procure subsistence. Every attention must therefore be paid to its preservation from damage or waste, all use of it, unless by the positive Sanction of the Commanding Officer is prohibited. If any man shall be found on inspection of his ammunition, to have suffered it to become damaged, or to have wasted it, besides the exposure of himself without the means of defence to an enemy, he shall suffer most Certainly the privation of food in proportion to his neglect or waste should the command ever be obliged to depend on hunting for their subsistence, and in addition he must incur the penalty prescribed by the "Articles of War" in such cases.

II. Two Hunters will be selected occasionally to provide Game for the Command. They will taken from the number of those who are the best Marksmen, and most accustomed to Hunt. They will be very careful not to consume the ammunition by indiscreet or uncertain shots, and will on no account throw away either powder or ball when they unload. Pistol Cartridges will not be made use of by the Hunters, nor by any of the Command, except when necessary to use the Pistol. The Hunters will deliver whatever game they may procure to the Ajt. Com. of Sub for issue to the Command.

III. The officer in charge of the ordnance stores, will issue as occasion may require what may be necessary for the Hunters, all lead thus issued and not consumed will be turned over by each set of Hunters when relieved to their successors.

(Signed)

C. Wharton
Capt. Comm.

(Extract from Order No. 6)

Camp Repair,

18th May 1834

I. Until further orders the guard will consist of a non-commissioned officer & six privates, and will be posted at retreat one sentinel will be on Horse back, and one on foot. The former will ride around the entire range of Horses, with a view of keeping them within prescribed limits, and the latter will walk among them for the purpose of securing them if they should become loose, and of quieting them if they should by any cause get frightened. In case the Sentinels should be unable to arrest a horse that may have broken away, they will call out "The Guard, a horse loose." when the commander of the guard will make every exertion with his men to apprehend the astray horse, or horses, & if the danger of escape be great he will arouse the Company.

II. The Ajt. Com., of Subsistence, will cause one of the Beef drivers to watch the Beeves at night, but in addition to said watch, the guard is also charged with a care of the Beeves by night as in the case of Horses; The Sentinels will not be withdrawn until morning Stable Call.

III. The Stable Call will be sounded immediately after reveille when each man will ascertain that his horse is secure & proceed to clean him, and here the Commanding Officer reminds the men of his Company that they cannot devote too much attention to the security & care of their horses. Not only convenience, but safety & even subsistence May depend on such exertions;

V. Immediately after the termination of the days march the horses will be picketted. 15 minutes before *retreat*, the Stable Call will be sounded when the horses will be hobbled or otherwise well secured for the night. The Stable call will again sound 15 minutes before *Tattoo*, when every man will minutely examine the means he has taken to Secure his horse., No signal will be sounded for Dinner, but each Squad will dine as soon as the meal can be prepared. The meal, however, will not be taken as an excuse for the neglect of the Stable, or any other duties.

VI. The actg asst Qr Master will see that the waggoner & pack men attend at the prescribed hours to the security & care of their Horses in the service of the Qr Master Department.

(Signed)

C. Wharton,

Capt. Commanding

* (Order N. 7.)

Camp near the Osage Agency.

May 23rd 1834.

I. The asst Commissary of Sup; will report in writing to the Commanding Officer, the circumstances attending the loss of the four Beef Cattle which escaped during the last night. Stating whether the watch was with the Beeves as directed in paragraph 2nd of order No. 6. and if there was any neglect of duty, who was guilty of it.

II. The inattention to Signals & the gross neglect of duty of some of the Non-Commissioned officers, induced the Commanding officer to direct that Order No. 6 be again read to the Command, after which second reading, the Commanding Officer will make an example of the first individual who in any particular disobeys it.

(Signed)

C. Wharton,

Capt. Commanding

(Order No. 8.)

Camp near the Osage Agency.

May 23rd 1834.

I. A detail of an *Officer of the day* will be made, from which no officer will be exempt. The Commanding Officer officiates as such today, and will be re-

lieved by the next Officer in rank, and the latter by the junior officer relieving each other in this order without a special detail.

II. The *officer of the day* will visit the guard & sentinels twice during the night, once between Tattoo, & 12 O'clock, and again between 1 O'clock and reveille, and will also on such occasions pass among and around the entire range of Horses. Causing the Guard to secure properly any that may have got loose, and to disengage such as may have got thrown by, or entangled in, their grazing halters.

The duties prescribed by the general regulations for the *Officer of the day* he will perform as a matter of course.

(Signed)

C. Wharton,

Capt. Commanding

* (Order No. 10.)

Camp Neotio 4th June 1834.

I. Sergt Glenn accompanied by one of the hunters to the Command will proceed immediately to the point where the trace to Santa Fe intersects the North fork of the Neotio River, with a view of ascertaining whether the traders to Santa Fe, are at that point, & for the purpose of delivering to them dispatches from the Commanding Officer.

II. Should the traders not have reached there on the arrival of Sergt Glenn at the North fork, he will proceed fifty miles farther on the trace with a view to ascertain their position. Failing still to find them he will return forthwith to this encampment. If however he should succeed in meeting them he will deliver to them the document, with which he will be entrusted, and after receiving their reply return with it to this place.

(Signed)

C. Wharton,

Capt. Commanding

While awaiting the return of Sergeant Glenn, a full inspection of the troops was made as per the following order;—

(Order No. 11.)

Camp Neotio June 4th 1834.

I. A minute inspection of Arms, ammunition, & accoutrements will be made tomorrow morning at halfpast 8 O'clock and immediately thereafter the condition of the horses will be ascertained, for which purpose they will be paraded unsaddled. The horses belonging to the Qr Masters Dept; will be inspected by the Actg Asst Qr Master, such horses as may have received any injury on the March will be strictly attended to, by those in whose charge they are, respectively, that they may be speedily prepared, for the long & fatiguing march. Frequent Bathing of the Back in cold water is recommended in cases where the Horse's back has sustained injury from the saddle.

II. The Acting Asst. Qr Master will have prepared a suitable number of wooden posts for the support of the Picket rope, and a number of picket stakes of strong timber, adequate to the security of all the horses & Mules attached to the Command. For this Object men already detailed in the Qr Master's department will be employed in addition to whom, two Carpenters, if necessary, will also be detailed.

(Signed)

C. Wharton.

Captain Commanding.

* (Order No. 12.)

Camp Vigilance, on the Cow Creek.

June 14th 1834.

I. The guard until further orders will consist of a Sergeant, Corporal, and

twelve privates, and all non-commissioned officers & privates, on whatever duty or detail, will be subject to detail for guard.

II. No signals until otherwise ordered, except in case of alarms, will be blown except in the day time, but Chiefs of Squads at the hours at which the Stable Call, Retreat, & Tattoo have heretofore been sounded at & after sundown will on being so directed by the 1st Sergeant turn out their respective squads to roll Call & to secure the horses. All horses must be tied to a picket. The greatest care & Vigilance must be used to prevent the horses breaking away in case of alarms, and to be prepared to defend the trade entrusted to the protection of his Command in the event of its being suddenly called out. Each man will lay his arms & accoutrements ready to grasp them in an instance, and on turning out unexpectedly the Company will form in one rank immediately in front of the tents.

III. With a view of making the supply of Flour hold out as long as practicable the ration will be reduced one fourth, so long as the Hunters are unable to furnish an abundant supply of fresh meat, and in making sales to officers the Ast Commissary will make a corresponding reduction in the Article of flour.

(Signed)

C. Wharton.

Captain Commanding.

* Captain Wharton includes with his report, certain communications which passed between him and the leaders of the Santa Fe Caravan. He has marked them Appendix No 1-2-3-etc., and we will use them as foot notes to make them easier to refer to. (Appendix No. 1)

Camp Neosho June 9th 1834.

Sir;

In the immediate vicinity of the Spot where the Santafe traders halted last evening is encamped a Company of U. S. Dragoons, consisting of fifty men. As the Commander of said Company I offer the protection which such force may be able to render to the Caravan, in which yourself and others are interested against the attacks of hostile Indians on such portion of your route to Santafe as I am authorized to advance with you.

I should be glad to know the wishes of the traders on the subject.

Respectfully

Yr ob Servt

(Signed) Clifton Wharton

Captn of Dragoons

To Capt Josiah Gregg
Commanding Caravan
to Santa Fe

* Appendix No. 2.

Proceedings of a board of Survey held at Camp Livingston by virtue of the following order.

Order No. 14

Camp Comanche

26th June 1834.

I. A Board of Survey to consist of Lts. Lupton & Watson, will convene today at such time as the senior officer of the Board may direct, and proceed to examine into the Condition of the waggon, and the waggon horses appertaining to the Qr Mr. Dept, and attached to this Command.

II. The Board in making up its opinion of the aforesaid means of transportation for service, will take into consideration the distance of this Command from its proper post the nature of the Country over which the march will be made &c the character of the subsistence which can alone be found for horses.

III. The report [Board] will make its report to the Commanding officer

in writing, and in case members of the Board should disagree in Sentiment, each will report his opinion.

(Signed)

C. Wharton.

Captain Commanding.

Camp Livingston June 26th 1834.

The Board met as above ordered at 2 Oc P. M.

The Board after a minute examination of the waggon, and waggon horses, are of opinion, that they are unfit for the service that will be required of them.

(Signed) 14

(Signed) 15

John L. Watson

L. P. Lupton

Lt Drgrs

Lt of Dragoons

Recorder of Board

President of Board.

* (No. 3)

Camp on the Arkansas.

Sir;

June 27th 1834.

I have the honor to report the following quantity of Subsistence now on hand.

Four Barrells of Flour

From 20 to 30 lbs of Sugar

From 80 to 100 lbs of Coffee

Three bushels of Salt

Fifty pounds of Pork (about)

The flour now on hand will subsist this Command at the present rate of issue, nearly 20 days & by a very small reduction in the rations, it might be made to hold out fully that time.-

Very respectfully

Yr Ob Servant

(Signed) L. P. Lupton

Lt Dragoons

A. A. C. S.

Captn C. Wharton

U. S. Dragoons Commanding.

* (No. 4)

Camp Livingston on the Arkansas River

Sir;

June 26th 1834.

My company of Dragoons having accompanied as an escort the Caravan bound for Santafe in Mexico so far as the supposed boundary line of the United States, and beyond which line no previous escort with one exception, has felt itself at liberty to pass, it becomes my duty to respect such line although not clearly ascertained, and to fall back unless imperious circumstances should justify my proceeding farther with you.

The distance however, which my instructions, under any circumstances, would allow me to go with the Caravan beyond the supposed boundary of the Country with a view to its protection, would be merely so far as some point not beyond what might be justly considered the *vicinity* of said boundary. I am aware, that you do not consider the Caravan safe, until you reach a point very far beyond said vicinage, indeed that it is exposed to danger from hostile Indians, even within the well known limits of the Mexican Republic, but to accompany you to so re-

14. John L. Watson of Virginia, was appointed to the Mounted Rangers March 5, 1833, and on Sept. 19, 1833, was appointed 2nd Lieutenant of the Dragoon Regiment. He resigned June 30, 1835, and died November 21, 1835.

15. Lancaster P. Lupton, was born in New York state and graduated from West Point in the class of 1825. Served in the 3rd Inf., and on March 4, 1833, was appointed 1st Lieutenant in the Dragoon Regiment. He resigned March 31, 1836, and died August 2, 1885.

mote a point would be utterly impofsible, as I am directed not on any account to go with my command within the jurisdiction of the Mexican Republic.

Should I escort the Caravan until it shall have been met by the Mexican Troops at the point to which they usually advance to meet it, say the Rio Colorado, I should not only then be within the well known limits of Mexico, but be under the urgent neccesity of approaching the very Settlements of that republic to obtain supplies, such as I now have on hand being barely sufficient to sustain my command twenty days and to recruit my horses now nearly broken down, by an already long march. Such a measure would be evidently contrary to my instructions; calculated to displease the Mexico Government, and to cause therefore the disapprobation of our own. With this statement of the limited distance I can accompany the Caravan with U. S. Troops beyond the Arkansas River, the supposed boundary of the Country, I desire to know whether to such extent you need the Services of my Command.

I am Respectfully

Your Obt Servt

(Signed) Clifton Wharton

Captn of Dragoons

To Capt Josiah Gregg
Commanding Caravan to
Santa Fe.

* (No. 5)

Camp Livingston on the Arkansas.

Sir;

June 27th 1834.

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your Communication, proposing such farther continuance of the escort under your Command as would be consistent with your orders.

Desirous of having my own individual wish supported by the Company, I took the liberty of laying your letter before them, and received the unanimous direction to request that you would continue your protection to the Caravan to the utmost limits of your discretion. You have been good enough to let me know the tenour of your orders from the War Department, without presuming into discussion as to their Construction which I could not decorously do, I will Simply allude to the circumstances which seem to indicate unusual danger. We were prepared by reports before we left Mifsouri to expect it. Information from a most respectable Quarter apprised us of the encampment on the road in advance of us of the Arick Karas with an exprefs view to the annoyance of this trade. From this tribe, once in actual war with the United States, and maintaining since a very equivocal relation, we have nothing to expect but hostility, I need not allude to their strength & means of annoyance, as they are already known to you.

The Comanches are known to be hostile by long and fatal experience. It has not been usual however to find them in our limits; yet you were yourself witnefs yesterday to the attempt of a war party to cut off two of our Company, who were in advance of the Caravan on the road they even now menace us, are looking from all sides into our Camp. That they came to our crofsing place with the expectation of meeting us is rendered certain by their contradictory & inconsistent Statement. While they pretended only to be hunting, they were as you know prepared with an english flag evidently to give them an opportunity of talking with & misleading us, for the fact is well known that they regard no engagement as sacred, but deem it allowable to use all means of deceiving & defeating their enemies. From their unusual appearance here & their strange deportment yesterday, I can scarcely doubt but that their movements are directed by an intelligence acquainted with the Character & habits of Americans, and with our mode of marching and encamping. I mention this circumstance in connection with a rumour which prevailed in Mifsouri before our departure, and which you have

heard, but to which I cannot officially allude, without possibly doing wrong to an individual who is entitled to justice at least.

In conclusion, Sir, I will remark that all indications lead us to the belief that we will be exposed to the most menacing danger.

With the assistance of your company, the Caravan and the lives of our Citizens will be ensured, and we appeal to you as an American Officer to afford us all possible aid.

Very Respectfully

Yr humble Servant

(Signed) Josiah Gregg, Capt'n
of the Caravan.

Clifton Wharton Esq
Captain of Dragoons.

* (No 6)

Camp of the U. S. Dragoons, on the South
side of the Arkansas river, June 27th 1834.

Sir;

I hasten to reply to your communication of this date, in answer to that I had the honor to make to you yesterday, on the subject of accompanying the Caravan bound for Santa Fe farther on its route. You express the wish of the Company of Traders, that I would continue the protection of my command to the Caravan, "to the utmost limits of your (my) discretion." Having made known to you in my letter of yesterday the tenor of my instructions in reference to the point to which under the most imperious circumstances, the troops of the U. S. under my command, could accompany you beyond the supposed boundary line of our country, it now only remains for me to say, that the utmost extent to which I can possibly proceed with you will be the spot at which the route of the Caravan is intersected by the Semirone River. I believe it is not doubted that, that water course is within the ascertained limits of Mexico, and in going even so far with you I shall be transcending the letter of my orders, the risk of censure for which I will encounter cheerfully as the fault, if it be one, will have grown out of a desire to serve my Countrymen to the limited extent of my means to promote their views. To go farther with you would impose upon me the necessity of violating the very spirit of my orders, for the reason made known to you in my note of yesterday, a violation which in reference to the bearing of National Law on the subject might be made a matter of moment by the Country whose territory would be entered by Foreign Troops, should I undertake thus to violate those orders. I spoke yesterday of the nearly exhausted state of my supplies, but I was not aware until this morning, when I received an official report from the officer in charge of them, that the most important part of them were so low as they really are, - of one article, most essential, I have less than 2 days rations - and of another still more important I have only 20 days rations, even although I have reduced the allowance per day of that article.

I do not design to treat lightly that part of your communication in which you allude to anticipated attacks by Hostile Indians supposed to be in advance of the Caravan & to the display of the Commanches yesterday in our presence, when I refrain from entering into the expression of any opinions on the matter, Yet I cannot omit remarking, that although the first demonstrations of the Commanches yesterday, were menacing to two of the gentlemen in advance of the Caravan, their general deportment when approached was professedly friendly, a deportment which I by agreement with them designed to avail myself of, to effect what I thought would be beneficial to the Caravan, and I was confident would promote certain views of our Government in relation to the Commanches & Pawnee Picts, when my objects were frustrated by the Hostile demonstrations of certain persons attached to the Caravan who even went so far as to advance a piece of artillery and to avow their determination to discharge it at a body of Commanches, separated from us by the width of the Arkansas river and whose demonstrations of friendship, whether sincere or not were loud and frequent.

This step on the part of the party concerned was followed by the most abusive language to one of my officers, who while I was absent in pursuit of yourself to exprefs my disapprobation of the hostility contemplated, thought it his duty to repair to the spot to which the Cannon had been drawn & to protest against the determination which had been avowed to fire against the Indians on the opposite shore. I advert to this circumstance, Sir, in justice to the officer in question, than whom, no one attached to my command has evinced a greater desire to serve your Company in the way of his profefsion.

I am, Respectfully,

Yr Ob, Servt

Clifton Wharton

(Signed)

Capt Dragoons.

To Josiah Gregg Esq,

Capt of the Trading Company

bound for Santa Fe

P. S. Having just heard that you had resigned the Office of Captain of the Traders, I request that you will hand this letter to your succesor, C. W.

* (No. 7)

Camp Livingston 27th June 1834.

Clifton Wharton Esq.

Captn U. S. Dragoons.

Your letter of today addresed to Josiah Gregg, Captain of the Santa Fe Caravan, has been handed to me since his resignation & contents noted. It is the general wish of the Company, that you accompany them until they reach the Mexican Troops, which will be at the Canadian fork of the Arkansas, One Hundred & fifty miles of Santafe.

But as your orders are such that you cannot accompany us that far, (when you would be in the vicinity of the Mexican Frontier and supplies easily obtained) I cannot insist, nor is it the wish of those I represent that you should accompany us any further as in so doing you would render your Company unfit for a return until the fall, as it is almost impofsible to cross the Plains from this point to the Semirone, and return immediately, there always being a great scarcity of grafs & water between those two points.

I regret that our government has not had an understanding with the Mexican Republic, so as to admit our troops to protect their Citizens and their property after crofing the lines of the two Republics, for as *things* are we are without protection for a distance of about Three Hundred miles lying between the Arkansas, and Canadian fork, the most dangerous part of the Route. I hope Sir from what you have already been an eye witness to, and the danger of a continual alarm or harafs by our kind foes, you will be enabled to make such a report, as to insure us a protection through the most dangerous part of our Route.

Yrs Respectfully

(Signed)

I. G. Smith Capt Santafe Caravan

(No. 8)

Camp of the Santa Fe Caravan On the South of
Arkansas River,

June 27th 1834.

Sir;

I had seriously hoped that you would be able to accompany us with your escort at least a few days longer on our march; and therefore much regret to learn that you have determined to return directly from this place. I am, however, perfectly satisfied that imperious circumstances in conjunction with the nature of your orders, are the sole cause of your not proceeding further with us. Yes, Sir, I regret to see that it would be utterly impossible for you to advance beyond this place with the Caravan, without incurring a risk which no one could wish; while at the same time, we have had every reason to be convinced of your sincere & unceasing desire to lend us every possible aid in case of danger. For

who could have witnessed, without being confident of this fact, the promptness of your Company in getting to arms and advancing to the point of expectant attack on the night of the alarm at Walnut Creek? Nor were we left struck with the readiness with which you acted on the occasion of yesterday, when a party of Comanches were seen approaching the Caravan.

Indeed, although it is well known that your Company is beyond Comparison the smallest escort that has heretofore accompanied a "Santa Fe" expedition yet it is universally admitted that the Protection it has afforded us has been equal to that of any previous escort, owing to the uncommon vigilance of your Command.

Thus, Sir, justice to my feelings not only as an individual, but as Commanding officer (though unworthy) of the Caravan during your march with us from Cotton Wood to this point, has compelled us to make these remarks—thus in some degree to express the so justly merited gratitude and acknowledgements of, Sir,

Yr truly Obt Servant,

(Signed)

Josiah Gregg

To Captain C. Wharton.

(No. 9)

Camp Livingston Crossings of the Arkansas.

June 27th 1834.

In behalf of the traders engaged in the Santa Fe trade, and those immediately concerned with the Caravan, we the undersigned return our thanks to you and the officers under your command for your untired and constant solicitude for the safety of the Caravan and the very efficient disposition of your Company and Guard while on March for its protection, and assure you that although your company was small, the protection afforded us, has been as efficient as when greater numbers have accompanied us.

We regret that we are so soon to part, but Sir, our best wishes are with you and hope you may reach your barracks with safety.

We are Respectfully

Your Mo Obt Servt

(Signed)

T. I. Boggs

I. L. Collins

Sam Miller

I. B. Turley

I. T. Wood

W. Hook

Josiah Gregg

To Cap Clifton Wharton

U. S. Dragoons

P. A. Masure

Ed Charlefs.

A. I. Raines

I. G. Smith

Brassard

NECROLOGY

R. R. PRATT. The superintendent of the New Mexico School for the Blind at Alamogordo, for eighteen years. R. R. Pratt died at the School on April 11, after a ten days illness with pneumonia. He was a native of Delaware, and before taking charge of the New Mexico School had been connected with the Blind School at Pittsburgh, Penna.

ELLEN S. PALEN. Mrs. Ellen S. Palen, widow of the late Rufus J. Palen, for many years president of the First National Bank at Santa Fe, died at the age of almost 83 years, on June 14, at her home in Santa Fe. Despite her advanced years she was active up to a few days before her death. Mrs. Palen was born August 9, 1844, in New York City, the daughter of Rev. and Mrs. William Thomas Webbe, natives of England. She married Major Palen in 1878, accompanying him to Santa Fe, where she became interested in the civic activities of those early days and remained steadfast in her loyalty and support of such pioneer organizations as The Woman's Board of Trade, The Fifteen Club, and was especially instrumental in the upbuilding of Santa Fe's public library. Reared in the home of an Episcopal clergyman, she was devoted to The Church of the Holy Faith in Santa Fe, and only recently made possible through her gifts the building of the Carol Palen Memorial, a parish house dedicated to the memory of her daughter who died fifteen years ago. The funeral took place on Saturday, June 18, in Fairview Cemetery, the god's acre to whose beautification she had devoted much effort and time.

REV. ELIGIUS KUNKEL. On Memorial Day, May 30, Rev. Father Eligius Kunkel, rector of the Cathedral of St. Francis, was drowned while vainly endeavoring to save a parishioner of his, Ernestine Chaves, from drowning. But the evening before he had been one of the clergymen officiating at the Santa Fe High School Baccalaureate services in the St. Francis Auditorium of the Museum of New Mexico. The prayer and benediction pronounced then were remarked upon by many of his listeners, because of their beautiful spirit and broad tolerance. The next morning he set out for the hills at the sources of the Tesuque river with young folks of his parish. Boating on a small lake was one of the sports of the day and it was while in the boat with two boys and a girl, that the tragedy came when

the boat upset throwing all the occupants into the icy waters. The boys reached shore, but the girl sank and Father Kunkel in seeking to save her gave his life. Father Kunkel was born in Streator, Ill., of German parentage. His father more than eighty years old, survives him. The Rev. Kunkel took his Franciscan novitiate at Mount Airy, Ohio. He studied philosophy at St. Bernard's College in Ohio and at Louisville, Ky. Four years more of study in St. Francis convent at Oldenburg, Indiana, followed. He was ordained in 1901 and celebrated his silver jubilee late last year. In New Mexico he had been missionary priest at the pueblo of Jemez, and in charge of parishes at Carlsbad and Gallup coming to Santa Fe nearly seven years ago. That his coming also brought a new spirit of service and progress to the old Cathedral church and that at the same time he won the friendship of the people of the City as a whole, is the testimony of the local clergy and businessmen.

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON LLEWELLYN. A unique and influential character passed from the stage in New Mexico in the death at the Beaumont Hospital at El Paso on Saturday, June 11, of Colonel William Henry Harrison Llewellyn of Las Cruces. He was born 77 years ago in Minnesota of Welsh ancestry although his parents had gone to the Northwest from Virginia. In 1885 he moved to Las Cruces. He had been agent for the Mescalero Apaches and many are the anecdotes that are told of his activities during those exciting days. Appointed district attorney by President Arthur he took a leading part in Republican politics. Repeatedly elected to the legislature both in territorial days and after statehood, he was speaker one term and also served in the constitutional convention. When the Spanish-American war broke out Llewellyn helped to recruit Troop G of the Rough Riders and took part in the battle of San Juan Hill. Becoming ill with yellow fever he was taken to Montauk Point and thence to the Presbyterian Hospital in New York City. The friendship of President Roosevelt for Llewellyn helped to make history in New Mexico. Colonel Llewellyn is survived by four sons and two daughters. The funeral took place at Las Cruces on Sunday, June 12.

COLONEL EDWARD E. AYER. New Mexico and the Museum lost a warm friend in the death of Col. Edward E. Ayer. On his frequent trips across the Continent, he would always revisit the scenes of his military days, when during the Civil War, as a member of the California Column, he nursed back to health one of his officers who was stricken with smallpox while in the Palace of the

Governors at Santa Fe. A few years ago, Colonel Ayer presented to El Palacio Press the plates of Mrs. Ayer's translation of Benavidez, a beautiful piece of work of which a limited edition was printed. He was a close reader of El Palacio and the New Mexico Historical Review, and was much interested in Museum affairs. Edward Everett Ayer was born in Kenosha, Wisconsin, November 16, 1841, the son of Elbridge Gerry and Mary Titcomb Ayer. After attending the public schools, he made his way to the Pacific Coast in 1860 and was one of the first, if not the first to volunteer and enlist in the Federal Army in California at the outbreak of the Civil War. He served against the Indians and became thoroughly acquainted with the resources of the Southwest. The foundations for his wealth were laid by acquiring timberlands and operating a lumber mill at Flagstaff, Arizona. He was a pioneer in the business of furnishing wooden crossties for the transcontinental railroads. Right after the Civil War, he married Emma Augusta Burbank, who was his faithful companion on many travels which included all parts of the world. She is the author of several works of travel and the notable translation of Benavidez. Colonel Ayer will be always remembered as the donor of the Ayer collection of Americana to the Newberry Library, Chicago, a collection which is especially rich in its works on the Spanish Southwest and the American Indian. Colonel Ayer knew the Indian, and his report on the Menonimees is a classic, but he never sympathized with the romantic attitude of so many so-called friends of the Indians, for his views on the subject were intensely practical. He also presented libraries on ornithology and ichthyology to the Newberry Library. Among his other public gifts were fine collections of Indian accoutrements and a pewter collection to the Field Museum of Natural History of Chicago, and it is there that the writer first met him, astonished by his intense interest in the collections of the Museum and his clear understanding of the place of museums and art galleries in the life of the people. Colonel Ayer was a director of the Field Museum, of the Art Institute of Chicago, one of the most energetic directors of the League to Save the Red Woods in California, a life member of the Chicago Historical Society. Colonel Ayer's death occurred in California.—W.

DR. GEORGE W. HARRISON. From Hollywood, Calif., comes word of the death of Dr. George W. Harrison, for many years prominent in civic affairs and business circles of Albuquerque, N. M. Mrs. Harrison, who survives him was Margarita Otero, daughter of the late Mariano S. Otero, who in his day was a dominating figure politically in New Mexico.

REVIEWS AND NOTES

The Overland Mail, By Le Roy Hafen, Ph. D. (The A. H. Clark Co., Cleveland, 1926 261 pp. Illustrated.)—"Promoter of Settlement and Precursor of Railroad" is the subtitle that Dr. Leroy R. Hafen gives his book reviewing the history of "The Overland Mail" from 1849 to 1869. The volume which is handsomely printed and bound, is dedicated to Dr. Hafen's wife "whose assistance and encouragement had made this study possible and its preparation enjoyable." The typography is by The Torch Press of Cedar Rapids, Iowa. The illustrations are eight in number including a map of the Overland Mail Routes, 1849-1869. The author does not give much space to thrilling details which emphasize the romance of the Winning of the West, but sketches in a broad way "the story of the extension of the postal service into the Trans-Mississippi region and to the Pacific Coast." His statements are well authenticated and annotated with references to official documents and historical sources of which there is no lack as the period covers falls well within days of extensive publicity in press and other publications readily available to the historical research worker. Dr. Hafen has done his work well, so well, that his book might be accepted as the final word on this phase of American history. The establishment and early development of the postal service in the English colonies and then in the new republic, is covered in the preliminary chapter. It is stated that the first step towards a domestic post connecting the several colonies was taken in 1672, when Governor Lovelace of New York decreed that a post should go monthly between New York and Boston. The author might have thrown in an interesting paragraph telling something of early methods of communication between New Mexico and the Spanish domain to the south of the Rio Grande, since the Overland Mail, the sub-

ject of the book, had such important ramifications to and through the Southwest. Still, the connection between the beginnings of a mail service in New Mexico and the Overland Mail that had its beginnings in 1849 over the Santa Fe Trail is very remote. It is these beginnings that are described in the second chapter. Private enterprise had established early in 1848 a letter express by land from California to Independence, Missouri, the charge for letters being fifty cents and for newspapers twelve cents. "April 17, 1848, the military authorities dispatched 'Kit' Carson with the first United States mail ever carried overland from the Pacific to the Atlantic." "The route from Independence, Missouri, via Bent's Fort, to Santa Fe, was created a post route by the act of March 3, 1847, and service was to be established upon it as soon as it could be done from the postal revenues arising therefrom. In 1849 a Mr. Haywood carried the mail between Independence and Santa Fe." The author describes fully the route taken. The service was at first monthly but in 1853 was made semi-monthly, the mail contract being given to Jacob Hall at \$39,999 per year. The monthly mail route from San Antonio, Texas, to Santa Fe passed from David Wasson into the hands of George H. Giddings, who received \$33,500 per year "for monthly service in two-horse coaches, through in twenty-five days." However, it was "The Butterfield Overland Mail" to which the fourth chapter is devoted, which inaugurated the palmy days of the Overland Mail and provided regular mail facilities to the Pacific Coast. By 1859, six mail lines to the Pacific Coast had been established. The gross annual disbursements for these six lines were \$2,184,697 while the receipts were but \$339,747.34. Bitter debate raged over the question whether the mail should be self-supporting or should be considered a pioneering agency. There were periodical fits of economy and reduction in the frequency of the service on some of the lines but when the Civil War came, the view that the Overland Mail "should act as a pioneering agency, leading the

emigration, encouraging settlement, and making safe the routes of travel," prevailed. The famous Pony Express marked the path for the first transcontinental railroad. "It showed the conquest of the West in one of its most spectacular phases, and is an act in the great Western drama that will always be recalled and reenacted as one of our precious heritages." The fight for a daily mail on the Central Route resulted in the million dollar contract with Butterfield. It was on July 1, 1861, that the first coach of the daily overland mail left Saint Joseph, reaching San Francisco on July 18. It marked the beginning of the decline of the Overland Mail for railroad construction across the Continent was pushed with vigor, Congress passing the Pacific Railroad bill just one year later. The author devotes an entire chapter (No. IX) to the Indian peril. Indian depredations culminated during the Civil War. The Confederate States were unsuccessful in maintaining an overland mail and for obvious reasons. At the conclusion of the Civil War "the overland mail reached its greatest proportions and achieved its greatest success." Ben Holladay was the famous president of the Overland Stage line and the author tells his romantic story quite fully. Says Dr. Hafen:

"One can hardly imagine worse punishment than riding day and night continuously for twenty days in a crowded coach. One passenger draws this pen picture: ,

'A through ticket and fifteen inches of seat, with a fat man on one side, a poor widow on the other, a baby on your lap, a handbox over your head, and three or four more persons immediately in front, leaning against your knee, makes the picture, as well as your sleeping place for the trip' Another traveler tells how certain passengers put hay on the flat top of the coach, put their blankets over, strapped themselves on by ropes tied to the railings, and got good sleep while the passengers inside, packed like sardines got none.'

In 1866, Holladay disposed of his entire overland mail

holdings and Wells, Fargo and Company became the dominating factor in the Overland Mail field. The end was in sight: "When the golden spike was driven at Promontory Point on May 10, 1869, the farewell note was struck. The continent was spanned with steel and the Overland stage-coach was replaced forever."

Dr. Hafen has achieved a scholarly work. His book will probably become a classic. It should also attract the general reader, but to the student of American history, and especially of the West, it is indispensable.—W.

Francisco de Ibarra and Nueva Vizcaya, by J. Lloyd Mechem, associate professor of government, University of Texas. Duke University Press, 1927. Pp. ix, 265, 2 maps, bibl. and index)

Antonio de Mendoza, First Viceroy of New Spain, by Arthur Scott Aiton, associate professor of history, University of Michigan. (Duke University Press, 1927. Pp. xii, 240, 3 plates, bibl. and index)

Students of the Southwest who wish really to understand the peoples of Indian and Spanish descent, their cultures and types of civilization, their ways of thinking and of living, will welcome any scholarly study of historical origins and background, and of early institutions. These two books, recently from the Duke University Press at Durham, North Carolina, are studies of this character and are notable contributions along the lines indicated.

One's imagination is stirred in reading of the deeds of a grizzled *conquistador* like Don Diego de Vargas who recovered for King and Mother Church the realm of New Mexico and was over seventy years of age when he contracted his last sickness while in person leading a campaign against hostile Apaches; but here, on the other hand, we learn that Francisco de Ibarra, while a youth of barely sixteen years, was already an explorer and *conquistador*, a governor and captain-general. And altho he died at the early age of thirty-six (of what the author assumes to have been tuberculosis), his accomplishments in the period of twenty years played a very important part in pushing northward the frontier of New Spain, and in preparing the way for the subsequent conquest and colonizing of New Mexico. Beloved of his soldiers, devout son of Mother Church, loyal servant of his king, Ibarra nevertheless was false and treacherous and ruthless at times — perhaps we may say he was a man of his age. The analysis of his character and achievements as given by Professor Mechem impresses one as fair and well balanced in

view of all the facts as presented. Ibarra well earned his title "the phoenix of the explorers" and was characterized by Viceroy Velasco as "un hombre virtuoso y bastante."

The book by Professor Aiton also is a study of history thru biography, and interprets in a readable and fascinating way the occasion for, and initiating of, such Spanish institutions as the *audiencia*, viceroy, and *real hacienda*. Not the least absorbing is the account of the testing of Mendoza's viceregal administration in the Mixton War and in the efforts from within government circles to oust him. "The first and, from many points of view, the ablest of a long line of imperial agents in the New World . . . Mendoza's success was in the main due to three things: his statesmanship, and the reasonable use he made of the wide powers of his office."

The bibliography in each publication carries a considerable list of manuscript material; in the lists of printed sources some of the titles could be of little help to discriminating students of these subjects. Very few typographical slips have been noticed and the book is excellent. In *Ibarra* (p.17) the turkey has been omitted from domesticated animals; page 53 seems to have "one" for "on"; and on page 56 the estimated weight of *El Cerro del Mercado* hardly corresponds to its reported mass, — whose the estimate was is not clear. The careful notes and index in each book will be appreciated by any critical reader.

L. B. B.

History of Agriculture in Colorado, by Alvin T. Steinel and D. W. Working, Collaborator. (Published by the State Agricultural College, Fort Collins. Pp. 659, illus).

There is opportunity right now for historical writers to compile the story of agriculture in the Southwest, somewhat along the lines of the recently published *History of Agriculture in Colorado*, a well-printed and abundantly illustrated volume published by the press of The Colorado State College of Agriculture at Fort Collins. In New Mexico, the beginnings of agriculture and irrigation can be taken back a thousand years and more, while the period covered by the Colorado history is from 1858 to 1926, although there are allusions to prehistoric husbandry. Three years were given for research and the work of gathering data for the history. In the foreword, credit is given to Jean Allard Jeancon, formerly of Santa Fe, but later curator of archaeology and ethnology of the Colorado Historical and Natural History Society. Of him it is written: "Mr. Jeancon's guidance was along archaeological lines, especially relating to the extent of ancient irrigation and the practices and methods

of aboriginal farmers of the arid Southwest, including a large section of what is now Colorado. Mr. Jeancon, in his service for the Smithsonian Institute at Washington and later as director of archaeological and ethnological research for the state of Colorado, has unearthed evidences of agriculture by irrigation that throw new light on the life of the ancients. It was the inspiration of his work that enabled the author, in the chapter on irrigation, to give this historical record its proper setting, fixing a new mark for the beginnings that takes nothing from the record of achievements of the recent Anglo-Saxon settlement, but leaves for the present generation of students, an impressive lesson as to the age of the so-called new world and the stage reached by civilizations that have vanished."

It must be remembered that for three centuries Colorado was considered part of the Spanish domain, at least by the authorities to the south, and that up to comparatively recent years, southern Colorado was an integral part of New Mexico. It is therefore not surprising to read that the beginning of present-day agriculture in Colorado must be ascribed to the people of Spanish descent in the San Luis Valley. As early as 1849 there were Spanish settlements in that valley while San Luis, San Pedro, San Acacio and Guadalupe were founded soon thereafter. Says the author: "The settlers who came to Guadalupe in October, 1854, under the leadership of Jose Maria Jaques brought with them horses, cows and oxen, sheep and goats. In the following March, the Indians stole their stock, and they had to supply themselves again from older settlements south of the Colorado-New Mexico line. With their new supply of livestock, chickens were brought in for the first time. The first Mexican mill was built on the Conejos river in 1856 by Mr. Jaques, and was run by water power. Previously, the settlers had obtained their flour and corn meal from Taos or from San Luis, where power grinding had been begun at an earlier date. However, from the time the first grain was grown in 1855, the Mexican women did grinding on metates with handstones called *Manos*—a practice that was continued for some years after the power mill was in operation."

In the following chapter, the rural life of the pioneers is described and then comes a chapter devoted to the early years of statehood and one on the relation of the new settlers and the Indian. Then follow the Sand Creek Massacre and the Trouble with the Utes, telling the story of the assassination of Nathan C. Meeker of whom it is said "Meeker's approach, with plows, harrows, mowers and other agricultural implements was looked upon with disdain by the braves, who knew naught of the dignity of labor. Work was for squaws. To expect braves to farm was adding insult to in-

jury." So the gray-headed philanthropist was dragged about the agency grounds by a log chain about his neck and with a barrel stave driven down his throat, while nine other men were also massacred, and Mrs. Meeker, her daughter Josephine, Mrs. Price, wife of an employee, and two children, were carried into captivity after the agency buildings had been pillaged and burned.

Most interesting is the story of the live-stock industry. Here too, the beginnings go back to New Mexico. "Texas cattle came from Spanish foundation stock, their native home being the Andalusian plain. Three centuries of rustling in Mexico had not improved them. They were as unlike American and English bred beef as though a separate species. They were light-bodied, long-legged, thin, with elongated heads, narrow muzzles, wide-spreading curved horns, measuring five feet or more between tips." The scale of values in Texas during 1865 was \$2 a head for yearlings, \$3 to \$4 for two year-olds, \$5 to \$6 for three year olds, \$6 to \$7 for four year olds. On this basis the drover could exchange cattle for goods, allowing the merchant a profit of 400 to 500 per cent. Seventy-five head would buy a good saddle horse and a two-horse wagon could be obtained for one hundred head of long-horns. Market reports in 1893 showed western sheep selling at Chicago at \$1 to \$2 a hundred pounds, the producer losing a dollar a head on every animal marketed. Entire bands in the Western range were being sacrificed at \$1.25 to \$1.50 a head, prices that matched the figures at which Colorado ranchmen had purchased their foundation herds from the Mexicans twenty-five years before. This condition threatened again in 1921, when "it was estimated that fifty million dollars had been squeezed out of livestock values in twelve months in Colorado."

The sixth chapter tells the story of irrigation. The first court decrees for irrigation rights in Colorado streams were granted to Spanish-American users in 1852. "Irrigation in Spain goes back to the invasion of the Moors, who brought the practice from Africa about the tenth century." Hon. Amado Chaves of Santa Fe is cited in the definition of "aguardiente" as grape brandy, and he tells how his grandfather Pablo Labadie made the finest "aguardiente" in the province. However "farming did not advance under Spanish-American rule in the Southwest. The crude implements used in the remote years when the first settlers followed the explorers from Mexico northward were still in use by the emigrants who settled at San Luis and Guadalupe. Plows were made of piñon timber with a spruce pole for a beam, to which oxen were yoked. Grain was sowed by hand and plowed under. Goats trod out

the grain on the thrashing floor." On the other hand, progress came so rapidly after statehood that canal building was overdone and failures and bankruptcies follows. Of interest too, is the story of Rio Grande litigation, the Kansas-Colorado suit and the Wyoming-Colorado case, especially in light of pending water controversies with New Mexico.

"Dry Land Farming Completes the Conquest of Plains" is heading of Chapter VII, and it seems as if Colorado has been more successful than New Mexico thus far in making dry land yield without irrigation. However, "It was no sudden process, but a slow development which was marked by trial and error." Today, Colorado has twelve million acres in dry farms. In 1925, it grew winter wheat by dry farming on 828,553 acres; it had 119,384 acres in summer wheat; 1,365,594 acres in corn; 312,380 acres in barley; 128,330 acres in oats; 118,000 acres in rye; 266,271 acres in beans; 15,280 acres in potatoes, and 12,000 acres in broom corn. Yet, there were twelve million acres more suitable for dry farming that were lying unutilized.

"History of Sugar Beet Production," tells another story development which should be repeated some day in New Mexico. "All the gold and silver that have ever been taken from the mountains of Colorado, or that may still be awaiting the touch of the pick and drill, cannot compare in value to the wealth already produced in twenty-five years by the beet crop, and yet to come, for unlike mining, good farming does not impair prospective yields, and a well-nourished soil insures continuous production."

The chapter on "Economic Development of Agriculture is important, while one of the most interesting phases of the history of husbandry in Colorado is to be found under "Agricultural Colonies and Colonization of Labor." "Crop Chronology and Events" brings out that the first wheat was of Spanish origin and was known as "Sonora wheat." It furnished the bread for Denver in that city's early days. "Development of Fruit and Vegetable Growing," "Research and Experimentation," and "Agricultural Education," are the concluding chapters, all indicating that the volume is an important contribution not only to history but also to the science of economics. Incidentally it is replete with romance, beautiful descriptive passages and practical wisdom.—W.

Riata and Spurs. Reviewers have been kind and generous in their treatment of "Riata and Spurs" by Charles A. Siringo, the "Cowboy Detective," for many years a resident of Santa Fe but now of Hollywood, California. The book is a recent one from the press of Houghton Mifflin Company and is dedicated to Aloys B.

Renehan, a Santa Fe attorney who in his youth perpetrated a volume of poems and who befriended Siringo, in whose make-up also runs a streak of romanticism and rhythm. The book is an amplification of earlier volumes printed by the New Mexican Printing Corporation of Santa Fe. Governor Gifford Pinchot of Pennsylvania has written an introduction to the 275 page book illustrated with halftones from photographs including several of the author. Pinchot says: "Charlie Siringo's story of his life is one of the best, if not the best, of all the books about the Old West, when cowpunchers actually punched cows, that ever passed under my eye. I am more than glad that some account of what he has done and seen and gone through is now to reach a wider audience."

It is a strangely fascinating narrative that Siringo tells. An autobiography in which the "I" predominates is not rare, but in this instance it seems an altogether impersonal "I," a paradox indeed. Without batting an eye he relates incident upon incident, not always creditable to himself, without embellishment or studied climax, and thus gives an illumining picture of the days and the places of which he was a part. Incidents which would mean a book by some other writer are barely given a short paragraph. Again and again, the author faces death nonchalantly and escapes disaster by a hair's breadth without using a superlative or an exclamation. Writing of "The Toughest Town on Earth," for instance, he says: "Riding up the main street Ferris and I saw twenty-five mounted cowboys, holding rifles in their hands, and facing one of the half-dozen saloons, adjoining each other, on that side of the street. In passing the armed crowd one of them recognized me. Calling me by name he said: 'Fall in line quick, h--l is going to pop in a few minutes.' We jerked our Winchester rifles from the scabbards and fell in line, like most any other fool cowboys would have done. In a moment Clay Allison, the man-killer, came out of the saloons holding a pistol in his hand. With him was Mr. McNulty, owner of the large Pan-handle 'Turkey Track' cattle outfit. Clay was hunting for some of the town policemen, or the city marshal, so as to wipe them off the face of the earth. His twenty-five cowboy friends had promised to help him clean up Dodge City. After all the saloons had been searched, Mr. McNulty succeeded in getting Clay to bed at the Bob Wright Hotel. Then we all dispersed. Soon after, the city law officers began to crawl out of their hiding places, and appear on the streets." "The History of Billy the Kid," "Strikers and Scabs," "Blind Postoffices," "The Salting of the Mudsill Mine," "The Power of John Barleycorn," "Saved by Whiskey," are some of the startling sub-titles but one vainly looks for mock-heroics, or color, or atmosphere--it is a dispassionate recitation of a participant on the witness

stand, a super-history from which historians draw the very things that the story as told by Siringo lacks. It is a he-man's book which one must read to get the proper perspective of the West that has passed.—W.

Minnesota History. "The Old Savanna Portage" by Irving Harlow Hart, and "The English Colony at Fairmont in the Seventies," are the two leading historical studies in *Minnesota History* for June. "From a time far back beyond the dawn of historical knowledge, there was probably a portage route between the two streams which drain Savanne and Wolf lakes," for it is there that the waters of the Mississippi come closest to those of the St. Lawrence basin. It is the relocation of this portage and trail last year by the author and his companion that furnishes the material for the first essay. The author of the second study is a resident of London who recalls the vicissitudes of a small English colony in the wilds of Minnesota fifty and more years ago. "Campaigning with Seward in 1860," is an interesting and perhaps, important contribution, for it was said in those days by Seward: "We look to you of the Northwest to finally decide whether this is to be a land of slavery or of freedom," while a historian (William E. Dodd) is quoted who believed that the Northwest was the critical contested area of the 1860 election and that the contest was won by the Republicans "only on a narrow margin by the votes of the foreigners whom the railroads poured in great numbers into the contested region." Charles Francis Adams and his son, of the same name, were with Seward, and part of the journal kept by the latter is quoted. The early history of the telegraph in Minnesota, Swiss settlement in Minnesota, the Minnesota marker in the Washington Monument, and Alexander Faribault, are subjects of short sketches.—W.

Hispanic American Historical Review. The Duke University Press of Durham, North Carolina, is making most notable contributions to Hispano-American history. Its Historical Review, published quarterly, is replete with original material. The May number furnishes a valuable "Selected Descriptive Bibliographical List on The Northern Expansion of New Spain 1522-1822" by J. Lloyd Mecham. Professor Mecham in the preceding number contributes "The Real de Minas as a Political Institution." It is interesting to note that "little opportunity was given the Spanish miner to experiment in self-government for the sufficient reason that he was so closely watched by his central government. The mining branch of the colonial government was so efficiently organized that royal control was asserted immediately after a discovery was made.

. . . Never were the Spanish miners in doubt regarding the requisite steps to be taken after a discovery; this was all carefully laid down in the mining laws." Other titles in the two numbers thus far published this year are: "Britain's Role in the Early Relation of the United States and Mexico;" "French Opinion of the Spanish-American War," which emphasizes again that French opinion was altogether adverse to the United States and would have welcomed European intervention or even a European coalition against this country; "The United States and the Dominican Republic;" "Fernandez de Lizardi as a Pamphleteer;" "The Genesis of Royal Government in the Spanish Indies;" "Confederate Exiles to Brazil;" and "The Lost Archives of Miranda."

Mississippi Valley Historical Review. In the last two issues of The Mississippi Valley Historical Review. those for March and June, the following are the chief titles: "Spanish Exploration of the Upper Missouri, being documents from the Bancroft Library, Zenon Trudeau reporting to the Baron de Carondelet in 1792: "These Mandan also have communication with the Spaniards or with nations that know them because they have saddles and bridles in Mexican style for their horses, as well as other articles which this same de la Iglesia saw;" "Judicial Review in Early Ohio;" "Roosevelt and the Elections of 1884 and 1888;" "Sergeant Sutherland's Ride an Incident of the Nez;" "Jacquez d'Eglise on the Upper Missouri;" "The Life of the Common Soldier in the Union Army;" "The Operation of the Land Laws in the Minnesota Iron District;" "William Henry Harrison in the War of 1812;" "The Federal Civil Service under President Jackson;" "A Visit to Kansas in 1857;" "The Last Letters of a Frontiersman in Search of a Fortune;" and "The Military Occupation on Green Bay."

Louisiana Historical Quarterly. The April issue of *The Louisiana Historical Quarterly* is a Lafayette number, the first three articles of the issue being "Lafayette, His Visit to New Orleans in 1825;" "Celebration by the Louisiana Historical Society of the Centennial Anniversary of the Visit of Lafayette;" "Dedication of the Lafayette Public School in New Orleans." Other contributions are: "Bienville's Claims against the Company of the Indies for Back Salary, 1737;" "Jackson and the Louisiana Legislature 1814-1815;" "Report of the Committee of Inquiry of the Military Measures Executed against the Legislature of Louisiana, December 28, 1814;" "Records of the Superior Council of Louisiana," and "Index to the Spanish Judicial Records of Louisiana." This last named which is being run in instalments of which twelve have been published previously, is not a mere compilation of titles but a complete review of each case. It is by Laura L. Porteous.

American Historical Review. A fascinating study of "The Blight on Early Modern Civilization" is contributed to the April number of "The American Historical Review" by Lynn Thorndyke. Herbert D. Foster contributes a study of "International Calvinism through John Locke and the Revolution of 1688;" Marcus L. Hansen writes of "The History of American Immigration as a Field for Research." "The Papers of the American Fur Company: a Brief Estimate of their Significance," "Byzantine Studies in Russia," "The First Philanthropic Organization in America," "A Society for the Preservation of Liberty, 1874," and "H. L. Bulwer on the Death of President Taylor" are other titles. Much space is given to book reviews including Woodward's sensational "George Washington, the Image and the Man," which incidentally also seeks to detract from the popular estimate of other Revolutionary heroes.

Oregon Historical Quarterly. "Nova Albion and New England;" "England and Oregon Treaty, 1846;" "The Currency Question in Oregon during the Civil War Period;" "The Indians of Oregon--Geographic Distribution of Linguistic Families;" "The Oregon Constitution and Proceedings and Debates of the Constitutional Convention of 1857;" and "Oregon Geographic Names;" are the subjects to which the March number of *The Oregon Historical Quarterly* devotes itself.

Iowa Journal of History and Politics. "Boundaries of Iowa," by Erick McKinley Erikson, "Ralph Waldo Emerson in Iowa," by Hubert H. Hoeltje, and "The Influence of Natural Environment in North Central Iowa," by William Julius Berry, are the principal titles in the April issue of *The Iowa Journal of History and Politics*, while in the July number Henry Arnold Bennett writes on "Fish and Game Legislation in Iowa," and Earle D. Ross on "The Evolution of the Agricultural Fair in the Northwest."

"Los Moros at Santa Cruz. Flashing swords, curveting steeds, gay banners and blue and cerise trappings gave a large audience a thrill at Alcalde, when a band of young men from Santa Cruz headed by the junior Mestas, performed the ancient miracle play or pageant, "Los Moros" depicting the conflict between the Spaniards and the Moors. This was first staged by Onate's men at San Gabriel near Chamita, the one-time Spanish capital now vanished into limbo and tumble-down adobe ruins. The manuscript has been handed down from generation to generation, and in the vicinity of the olden administrative center of the Spanish crown in New Mexico. It was presented with the aid and encouragement of Miss Mary Hunter of Santa Fe and Santa Cruz, and the boys deserve great credit for the

spirited manner in which the play was given. In a ring around the edge of the picturesque plaza of Alcalde—with the pueblo-like village mounting tier on tier in the background toward the lava wall beyond the Rio Grande—were perhaps 20 or 30 autos which brought visitors from Santa Fe and up and down the valley. Inside the car circle were spectators on foot, gala-dressed natives and Indians, men and women, boys and girls and babies, tourists and ranchers. In the center of the plaza rose a white altar surmounted by a white cross; in front of it reposed a smaller red cross, the battle cross of the Spaniards, which was carried by the "conquistadores" as they circled and charged, clashing old sabres and bright new swords with the Orientals. Pending the time when these native youths are letter-perfect in their parts, a prompter stood before the altar. The participants entered into the spirit of the old play magnificently. Little attempt was made at elaborate costuming, but the effect was spectacular enough. An orchestra with two banjos, a violin and a snare drum furnished music. The glossy horses pawed and pranced and leaped under the impetus of long-roweled Spanish spurs. When "Marcha!" was sounded they fell into weaving battle-lines round and round the altar, to the sound of shouting and the clang of arms. There are many lines in the play, martial and inspiring in sonorous Spanish, and it was half an hour or three quarters before the commander of the Saracen hordes fell on his knees in submission before the white cross. Color was added when an American Legion truck bearing much bunting and a gorgeous American flag charged into the Plaza. Over all a brilliant sun, with occasional battalions of dust clouds advancing before the southern wind. To the east the faint white cross of snow in the clefts of the Truchas, to the west the far stretching living green of the Rio Grande-Chama valley, the fertile paradise which the shrewdly-choosing Spaniards, selected for their center of provincial government. While the cameras were clicking many Santa Feans agreed that every possible effort should be made to include this ancient miracle play in the Santa Fe Fiesta, given by the same young men who have inherited it and kept it alive. A little aid in costuming and more rehearsals and it will be perfect; an authentic part of the Fiesta.—*Santa Fe New Mexican*.

Loretto Jubilee. The diamond jubilee of Loretto Academy in Santa Fe was celebrated May 17, 18, 19 and 20. White and gold were the decorations for the auspicious occasion, which included a series of interesting exercises. Distinguished visitors included three members of the Loretto Council, Rev. Mother Vicareess Mother Mary Thomas, Mother M. Bridget, both former superiors; Mother M. Rosine, Mother M. Albertina, Mother M. Barbain.

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MANUEL LISA

ONE OF THE EARLIEST TRADERS ON THE MISSOURI RIVER

Among the early trappers and fur traders of the west, the Chouteaus, the Sublettes, the Bents, Ashley, Fitzpatrick, Bridger, Wyeth, some of Astor's agents, Captain Bonneville and others are well known and should be, for, considering their deeds in unexplored country and combatting obstacles of many kinds, these men were giants in their day. But one of the earliest traders and post-builders was Manuel Lisa. He is a man that we today seldom hear about, but in his day he was one of the boldest and most enterprising.

Manuel Lisa was born of Spanish parentage in New Orleans about the year 1772. Of his early life there is little on record. At the age of twenty he was trading on the Mississippi and its tributaries. He came to St. Louis in 1798 and that year entered into a contract with Roubidoux, one of the old Indian traders.

He early showed his aggressive spirit by joining with others in a protest to Governor Trudeau, against the monopoly granted and enjoyed by a few giving them control of the Indian trade of the Missouri. The Chouteaus were about the only ones not affected by this arrangement; they were old on the river and too well established. In fact they were a small monopoly in themselves. The petition for granting open trade had no result. With the trans-

fer of the territory to the United States this monopoly collapsed.

A little later, Lisa and two others obtained from the Spanish government the exclusive right to trade with the Osage Indians. For a number of years this trade had been controlled by the Chouteaus, and their influence was so strong that on Lisa's appointment they were able to induce a large part of the tribe to leave the Missouri and move over to the Arkansas River where the former were strongly entrenched. This action caused a split in the Osage Nation that took some time to heal. Lisa held the grant only one year.

We next hear of Lisa in trouble. He was always a man strong in his convictions, and never afraid to attack even the mighty. For a strong letter of complaint to the Spanish Governor Delassus, the last of that succession, he was put in the calaboose for a time.

With the ending of his monopoly of the Osage trade, Lisa cast his eyes towards Santa Fe. With wise foresight he saw the prospect of rich trade with the Spanish Provinces and this was amply justified later when the Santa Fe Trail became a great avenue to market. The new American governor, Gen. James Wilkinson, always an enemy of Lisa, successfully thwarted his plans. He somehow learned of Lisa's intentions and in a letter to Captain Zebulon M. Pike then on his famous exploring expedition to the southwest, he called Lisa an intriguer and outlining his plans, ordered Pike to take "all prudent and lawful means to blow them up." It may be possible that Wilkinson feared to have Lisa reach Santa Fe, for once there, speaking the language and mingling with the officials, he might learn something of the governor's intrigues.

In 1806 Lewis and Clark returned from their historic journey to the Pacific and the news they brought caused the eyes of the St. Louis traders to wander up the Missouri River. The headwaters of this river were a virgin field for the taking of furs and peltries and one of the first to grasp the importance of this fact was Manuel Lisa.

Fur was the incentive of much of the early exploration and advance. It was the first article of trade of all the early western towns and cities. St. Louis was founded by Laclede Ligoust as a depot and headquarters for trade with the Indians who were the big gatherers of fur, and to this day the city ranks high as a center of the fur trade. Fur was the principal business of the day and all the big men were in it in one form or another. Even before the coming of Laclede, French *coureurs de bois* and half-breed whites had pushed up the Missouri and its tributaries at least as far as Kansas City and possibly beyond. After 1764 a greater number pressed farther into the interior.

While Lisa was not the first trader to go up the river, he was the first to realize that the men before him were doing big business on a small scale, and to see the possibilities of doing big business by having permanent posts in the country and carrying large stocks of goods. This required capital and this he was able to command.

In 1807 Lisa with one keelboat and outfit made his first trip up the Missouri. Near the Platte River it was his good fortune to meet a man who had made the journey with Lewis and Clark—John Colter, and who was on his way down the river. Colter had been in the country where Lisa was anxious to trade, and this making him an important man to have, Lisa offered him inducements and persuaded him to turn back and face the wilderness once more.

Above the friendly Omahas, Lisa had to pass the country of six or seven tribes which might prove hostile, and on this trip trouble was had with the Arikaras, Mandans and Assiniboines. However a show of force with two of them and persuasion with the other, got him by safely.

Two other expeditions started up the river shortly after Lisa left St. Louis. One under the command of Ensign Pryor who was escorting back to his village the Mandan Chief Shehaka, who had been brought down to St. Louis the previous year by Lewis and Clark; the other, a trading venture in charge of Pierre Chouteau. This

united party had a fight with the Arikaras and were compelled to return to St. Louis. It was claimed that Lisa had instigated the Indians in this affair. Remembering the treatment he had received from the Chouteaus in his dealings with the Osage, possibly he was interested in blocking Pierre, who returned to St. Louis in high dudgeon.

This first expedition was known as that of Lisa and Druillard, the latter the "Drewyer" of the Lewis and Clark expedition. Their first post was built at the mouth of the Big Horn River and was known under different names, but "Fort Manuel" and "Fort Lisa" were the most familiar. This was the first permanent house built in what was afterwards the State of Montana, and Lisa was the first settler in the state. However a mistake was made in establishing a post at this point. The intention was to trade with the Blackfeet, the big gatherers of fur, but settling in the country of the Crows the others took umbrage, and partly from fear of the Crows refused to come to trade.

The winter was spent at the new post and during the time Colter was sent out to find the Blackfeet and induce them to come in and trade, and it was on this memorable trip that he discovered the wonders of the Yellowstone Park which in disbelief and derision were called "Colter's Hell."

On the whole Lisa was successful in this his first venture on the upper river and on his return to St. Louis the result was exploited. His competitors and rivals, and among them the Chouteaus, quickly recognized the fact that this bold and resourceful man was one to be reckoned with, and with good business judgment, rather than oppose him, they organized the St. Louis Missouri Fur Company and Lisa was made a partner.

On Lisa's next trip in 1809 he returned to his village the Mandan Chief Shehaka, wife and child. Posts were built at the village of the Gros Ventres and at the Three Forks of the Missouri in the midst of the Blackfoot country. This latter on account of the hostility of the Indians was abandoned in about a year or two. The Blackfeet were

the most troublesome of all the Indians. They would be met with in various parts of the country and this led to the opinion that they were a very large tribe and occupied a big home section, but this was not a fact; they were great travelers and while after horses, buffalo or on the war path, might be met with hundreds of miles from the head waters of the Missouri, thus giving this impression.

The expedition of 1810 was not a successful one. George Druillard, a very capable man, had been killed by the Indians and the posts at the Big Horn and the Forks abandoned. The Indians were very troublesome and Major Andrew Henry went to the western slope of the mountains in hope of trapping unmolested.

The expedition of the following year is notable for the great race up the river. The Indians were showing signs of hostility possibly urged by British emissaries, and as the Astoria Overland Party under the leadership of Wilson Price Hunt was going up the river Lisa was anxious to travel with them for mutual protection. Some friction arose between the two leaders and Hunt, and some others with him recalling that it was claimed that Lisa was responsible for the failure of Pierre Chouteau's venture a couple of years before, made a start a good two weeks ahead of him. Lisa, notwithstanding his big handicap, with one keelboat manned by a picked crew, made an heroic effort and caught up with Hunt just beyond the Sioux territory. This ranks as one of the greatest races in history; it lasted two months and twelve hundred miles were covered. No trouble was experienced with the Indians and the rival leaders patched up their differences. Luckily there was an historian with each party to preserve the story of the race and later, Washington Irving retold the story in his classic "Astoria." Lisa picked up Major Henry and his men who had returned from beyond the mountains and returned to St. Louis.

By this time Lisa was a man of importance in St. Louis. In the tax list for 1811 he stands among the few that were assessed for over 2000 dollars. At that time

there were but nineteen carriages of pleasure of which he owned two. He was one of the organizers of what was probably the first business bank but it proved a losing venture and Lisa lost considerable money. Moses Austin was an associate and it is claimed that the loss of his money turned his thoughts to the scheme of colonizing Texas. Later, Lisa in partnership with two others started a steam mill company. Lisa was never a single track man; he was always open to a business proposition.

In 1812 Lisa with two boats again went up the river, and it was on this trip that Fort Lisa a few miles above the present city of Omaha was built, and it remained an important post for a long time. On the way up, the Arikaras through jealousy of the chiefs, became aggressive. The women and children were ordered away from the boats which was not a friendly sign. Lisa and his men prepared for trouble, but the leader was not a man to sit tight. With ten men he went ashore and sent for the chiefs to explain their conduct. It was a matter of some receiving presents and others none. They were also desirous of having a trading post established with them. Agreement was arrived at, matters were adjusted and all was peace again.

Four or five parties were sent out to trade with various tribes and one under Charles Sanguinet was sent to the Arkansas River to trade with the Arapaho Indians. This in reality was only part of the scheme. They were to try and get in touch with the Spanish traders from the south and were fortified with a letter to the Spanish.* Two years previously, Lisa had sent out a party with the same intentions and no word having been had of them, it was part of the errand of this later party to locate the missing ones. Some of the men in this first party never returned. The time was not ripe for trading with the Spanish and nothing came of the effort. Some men of

* For this letter, see Bolton, H. E., "New Light on Manuel Lisa and the Spanish Fur Trade," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, XVII, 61-66.—Ed:

another party were taken by the Spanish and held prisoners for ten years.

On this trip Lisa had a journal-keeping clerk, Luttig by name, who wintered in the country and who gives us a glimpse of Sakakawea, the Shoshone woman, the wife of Charboneau, who guided Lewis and Clark on their memorable journey across the Rockies. The woman died of "putrid fever" that winter.

Reading old journals of fur-trading days gives some idea of the amount of game at that time. In journeying up the river and after leaving the settlements, hunters were put ashore every day and numbers of deer, elk, bear and (farther up) buffalo were killed for food. Brackenridge, who made the voyage up the river in 1811, tells about seeing several thousand buffalo in a frightful battle among themselves. "The noise grew to a tremendous roaring, such as to deafen us."

While Lisa was away on this voyage, at a meeting of the company he was dropped as a director and changes were made in the arrangements of the company. However, on Lisa's return the following year, it was decided to dissolve the company. Lisa's enemies were in the majority and had their way.

War with Great Britian had been declared while Lisa was up the river, but on his return he offered his services and was appointed a captain of an infantry company. He also became active in town affairs and was made a bridge commissioner.

On the dissolution of the company, Lisa formed an association with Captain Theodore Hunt, a fellow bridge commissioner, and boats were sent up the river, but on account of the war and the unrest of the Indians, trade was declining. The increasing number of traders was a contributing cause. The fur business remained in a languishing condition for a matter of ten years but up to the time of his death, Lisa could always command his big proportion of the trade.

Governor Clark with good judgment appointed Lisa

sub-agent for the Indians on the Missouri and during the war of 1812 this proved of inestimable value to the growing nation and prevented the massacre and devastation of many of the northern towns. Outside of possibly the Chouteaus, no man had greater influence with the Indians than Lisa. The northern Sioux through long association with the British trading companies were naturally strongly attached to their cause and needed little urging to attack, but Lisa with adroitness and use of his "fine Spanish hand" was able to detach the southern bands so that every time the northern Indians started on a drive, runners would reach them with the word that the others were marching to attack their villages, obliging them to turn back and making their attempts abortive.

The value of Lisa's services are best shown in a letter to his son, by Joseph Renville, the British guide and interpreter with the Sioux during the war, part of which is as follows:

During the war of 1812 the Americans from St. Louis stirred up much trouble between the Tetons and the Santees, and it seemed as if there was to be civil war in the Dakota Confederacy. Manuel Lisa was the American Agent and he set the Tetons against the Santees because the latter supported the English. That is the reason the Santees could not help the English more. Every time they started out to go to the lakes and Canada, runners would come and tell them that the Tetons were coming to destroy their families and they were compelled to return to their homes to protect their women and children. Lisa had his post either on American Island, where Chamberlain now is, or on Cedar Island above the big bend of the Missouri. He had a big post there and the Tetons were not nearly so poor as were the Santees, for they had plenty of buffalo meat and Lisa bought all their furs. Lisa was a very smart man, and he managed things so that all of the money and work of Dickson (the British agent) to get the Santees to fight was lost. He got one of our men (Tamaha, the one-eyed Sioux) to spy on his own people and let him know all that was being done. Lisa was met several times after

the war and he boasted about the way he managed the Tetons.

An example of Lisa's standing with the Indians is shown in his bringing to St. Louis in 1815 some forty-three friendly chiefs and headmen for a visit and to make treaties.

It is a curious fact that throughout his business career, Lisa was beset with enemies and rivals. But in no deal or controversy was he ever worsted. He also had life-long friends such as Governor Clark and other important men, and men remained in his employ year after year. Immel, who was one of his best traders remained with him up to his death. Lisa was suspected and accused of various things such as instigating the Indians against rival traders, but honest investigation fails to show any basis for the claims. That the man was a Spaniard and very successful, had much to do with this pronounced jealousy. General Ashley in 1822, either by raising the caches or bribing his men, obtained the furs belonging to Peter Skeen Ogden of the British Northwest Company and thus laid the foundation of his fortune. A similar act on the part of Lisa the Spaniard would have been execrated, but in the other it was merely considered sharp practice.

Lisa resigned his agency in 1817 and in his letter to Governor Clark declared himself and protested against certain calumnies which usually attach to successful men.

Someone has written that Lewis and Clark were the trail-makers and Lisa the trade-maker. The former laid the foundation of scientific geographic exploration of the far west, and the latter the foundation of a great industry. All of Lisa's expeditions were attended by discoveries. There was no Indian village of importance on the Missouri at which he did not at some time have a trading-post or fort.

Lisa was an all-around man and Brackenridge in his famous journal describes him as "a man of bold and daring character, with an energy and spirit of enterprise like that of Cortez or Pizarro. There is no one better acquainted with the Indian character and trade, and few

are his equals in persevering indefatigable industry." In trading with the Indians or passing through their country he always displayed great judgment. When promises or presents would suffice, they were freely given; if a show of force was the only way out, it was promptly offered. His life was threatened many times by both whites and reds, but he proved a fearless man and never felt the need of ordering, as did Kenneth McKenzie at Fort Union, a shirt of mail. Once on receiving word that the Sioux had broken out in open hostility the men all looked glum and dispirited, but not Lisa who would seize an oar or the helm, make an encouraging speech, send around the grog and raise the song.

Lisa had in all three wives, two white and one Mitain the daughter of an Omaha chief. His last wife, of the important Hempstead family and known as Aunt Manuel, survived him a number of years. He had no children by his white wives, but there were some by the other and the strain was continued from that connection.

Lisa returned from his last trip in April, 1820, and in August of that year passed away.

By his labor and enterprise, Lisa had risen to a high position in St. Louis and was second to none in big business and the affairs of that day. Had he lived a few more years and his plans been fulfilled, he would have achieved great riches, but the end coming rather suddenly, he probably left little in the way of quick assets.

Coming to St. Louis a comparative stranger where the families were closely related and quickly jumping to a position of prominence in the principal industry of the day, had much to do with the envy and antagonism which quickly attached to him. He was a leader, never a follower, and with definite objects in view, he hewed in straight lines. No man ever worked harder, and Colonel Chittenden estimates that in his journeys up the Missouri he traveled at least 26,000 miles, and this on a river difficult of navigation.

Many men who have done less in the way of industry

and service to the country have been honored in one way or another, and it remains for the State of Missouri to awaken to this knowledge and redeem its neglect by a memorial of some importance to Manuel Lisa, the man who did heroic work in the upbuilding of the state in its youth.

In writing this article I have made use of the written words of Brackenridge, Luttig, Chittenden and Douglas and hereby make grateful acknowledgement.

CHARLES A. GIANINI

Poland,
New York.

THE RODRIGUEZ EXPEDITION TO

NEW MEXICO, 1581-1582

(Concluded)

GEORGE P. HAMMOND AND AGAPITO REY

Chapter XI. How we left the settlement to go in search of the cattle, and the route we took.

On the twenty-eight day of the month of September of the said year we left the settlement and province of San Felipe⁴⁵ to go in search of the cattle, in view of the news that the natives had given us of them. On the first day we marched six leagues through plains with very good pasture for cattle.⁴⁶ Accordingly we thought the Indians had not told the truth, because we noticed the pasture untouched by cattle and tracks of them that seemed very old. This day we slept without drinking a drop of water, both men and horses. This occasioned much hardship. In such a situation we feared that our animals would become exhausted.

On the following day we marched over a mountain with many pine trees. It appeared to be the largest mountain that had been discovered in New Spain. It had groves of pine, carine and cypress trees. Then after five leagues we came to an extensive region of rolling ground where we found a large basin of rain water. Here the horses, which were somewhat tired out from the previous day, drank. We stopped here for the night.

We left on the following day and continued to march through plains. When we had traveled seven leagues night came, and we went without water as on the preceding day. So we thought we were lost, due to the lack of water and because the Indians had told us the cattle were two days away from the settlement. We had traveled three good days, and as we failed to locate them we thought we were lost. But great was the courage which God our

45. San Felipe was not only the name applied to the first pueblo discovered by the party in New Mexico, but also the general name for the entire province.

46. The party set out from the pueblo of Piedra Ita in the Galisteo valley. Gallegos states they returned to the pueblo from which they had started, and a little later names the pueblo. See below. Obregón makes the same statement about returning to Piedra Ita, the pueblo from which they started though he also makes the general and misleading remark that "they set out from the river Guadalquivir and the town of Malpartida." Pt. II, ch. vi and vii.

Lord inspired in us, emboldening us to penetrate strange and hostile lands.

The next morning after marching a league God was pleased that we should hit upon a pool containing a great deal of brackish water, which was located in a dale forming a plain. We stopped here to refresh the animals from the fatigue of the foregoing day. On the following morning we continued our march along this dale, and all along it we found pools of very briny water. So we called it Valle de San Miguel, because we reached it on the day of the blessed Saint Michael. This valley is suitable for sheep. It is the best that has been discovered in New Spain. On that day we marched five leagues down this valley and came to a very large pool of water where we halted for the night. We noticed that numerous people had left this place the preceding day and we found many tracks of the cattle. For this reason we thought they must be the people who follow the cattle, and that we were close to the latter. This pleased us very much, due to our desire to see them.

The next morning after traveling a league we came to a river of much water and many trees which we named Rio de Santo Domingo.⁴⁷ This is a river of brackish water suitable for cattle. Accordingly we thought the cattle would be along this river, because a river as good as this one could not fail to be frequented by cattle. For, all along the way we had found tracks of cattle.

Marching down this same river four leagues we came upon a column of smoke which we had noticed. We wanted to see whether there were people there from whom we could inquire concerning the cattle. We came upon a ranchería located on this river. In it we found fifty huts and tents made of hides with strong white awnings after the fashion of army tents. Here we were met by over four hundred warlike men armed with bows and arrows. They asked us by means of signs what we wanted. We told them we were coming to visit them and that they were our friends. Nevertheless they were intent on shooting arrows at us. We had decided to attack them, but did not do so as we waited to see whether they desired peace. We restrained ourselves, although we were on the point of breaking off with them if they so desired, for there was no fear in us. We withdrew our force to see what the outcome would be. Then we made the sign of the cross with our hands as a sign of peace, and the Lord was pleased to inspire them with fear and to increase our courage. When they saw we were making the sign of the cross as an indication of peace they too made the sign to signify peace. Moreover they welcomed us to their

47. It was the Pecos, perhaps near Anton Chico. Mecham, *op. cit.*, 284.

land and *ranchería*. Then Father Fray Agustín Rodríguez dismounted and gave them a cross to kiss, which he wore at his neck, in order to let them know we were children of the sun and that we were coming to visit them. They soon began to rejoice and to make merry, and to give of what they possessed.

We stopped that day in this *ranchería*. We called the attention of all the Indians and then discharged an *harquebus* among them. They were terrified by the loud report and fell to the ground as if stunned. It was God our Lord who inspired such fear of an *harquebus* in these Indians, in spite of the fact that there were two thousand men together. They asked us not to fire any more *harquebuses*, because it greatly frightened and scared them. We were very much pleased by this, although we did not let them notice it. We asked them where the cattle were, and they told us that two days farther on were large numbers of them, as many, so they indicated, as there was grass on the plain. They described to us the land where the cattle roamed. No one wished to come along with us. Thus we saw that we had strayed and had not followed the route that the Indians of the *pueblos* had told us of.

These naked people wear only cattle-hides and deerskins, with which they cover themselves. They sustain themselves on the meat of the cattle which they come to eat at this season. During the rainy season they go in search of prickly pears and dates. They have dogs which carry loads of two or three *arrobas*.⁴⁸ They provide them with leather pack-saddles, poitrels and cruppers. They tie them to one another like a pack train. They put maguey ropes on them for halters. They travel three or four leagues per day. They are medium sized shaggy dogs.

On the following morning we marched down this very river. As we found no cattle after two days travel, we wandered on bewildered. It was not advisable to travel over plains like those without guides, so we returned to the river by command of our leader. We went to the *ranchería*, where we had left many people, in order to get an Indian from them, either willingly or by force, to take us to the cattle. This was done and we went to the said *ranchería* and an Indian was apprehended and taken. He was brought to the camp and we delivered him to our said leader so that we could start at once and continue the journey to the cattle. Seeing that the Indians of this *ranchería* had become angry we decided to fully prepare ourselves for battle, as we were in the habit of doing under such circumstances, and to keep careful vigil, even though we were tired, because we had been keeping guard for six months. This

48. An *arroba* is 25 pounds.

annoyed us a great deal, for one can well imagine that keeping guard every night for a whole year was not only enough to exhaust eight men, but forty, not to consider our small number.

Then in the morning we started with the guide and marched laboriously for three days, because we lacked water during this time, until we reached a place where we found some small pools of water where the Indians were accustomed to drink. We opened them by means of hoes, for they did not contain enough water for one of our animals. God was pleased that as these pools were opened so much water flowed from them that it was sufficient to satisfy ten thousand horses. We named these water pools *Ojos Zarcos*. Traces of the cattle were found here. A beast was killed. It was the first that had been seen on the trip. This inclined us to believe that the cattle were nearby. The next day we stopped at the said pools in order to refresh our horses, which were tired out from the previous day. We had gone without water for over forty hours, and if we had lacked it another day we should have perished. But that is why God our Lord is merciful, for in the time of greatest need, He gives aid, and this was especially so at that time.

We asked the guide whom we took along where the other cattle were, of which he said there were many. He answered that we would see them the next day, that they were at a water hole and that there were many of them. So on the following day, which was the ninth day of the month of October of the said year, we reached some lagoons of very brackish water. Here we found many pools of briny water along a valley that extends from these lagoons toward the place where the sun rises. We named this valley *Los Llanos de San Francisco* and *Aguas Zarcas*, because it formed such good plains.⁴⁹ In these plains is a water hole, the best to be found in New Spain for people afflicted with dropsy.

In these plains and lagoons we found numerous cattle, which were seen in great herds and flocks of over five hundred head, both cows and bulls. They are as large as the cattle of New Spain. They are humpbacked and woolly; the horns short and black, the head large. The bulls have beards resembling he-goats. They are fairly swift. They run like pigs. They are so large that when they stand in the midst of a plain they resemble ships at sea or carts on land. According to our estimate and of those who discovered them, they must weigh over forty *arrobas* each after they are three years old or more. Their meat is delicious, and to our taste as palatable as that of our cattle.

49. The Spaniards had reached some place on the headwaters of the Candian river.

We killed forty head for our use by means of the *harquebuses*. They are easily killed, for no matter where wounded they soon stop, and on stopping they are killed. There is such a large number of cattle that there were days when we saw upward of three thousand bulls. The reason there are so many bulls together is that at a certain season of the year the bulls separate from the cows. They have very fine wool, suitable for any purpose, and their hides are the best that have been found on cattle discovered up to the present time.

Here in this valley we were informed that the said valley and its water extended to the river where the great bulk of the cattle roamed, which, according to the natives, cover the fields in astounding manner. The leader and the discoverers decided to go and see this river they spoke about.⁵⁰ Later we decided it was not a good plan, because we were running short of supplies. Had it not been for this drawback and for our desire to come back to inform his majesty of what had thus been discovered, we would have gone on to explore the said river.

Thus on the nineteenth day of the month of October of the said year we left this valley of San Francisco on our way back to the pueblo from which we had started. From the settlement to the location of the cattle we traversed forty leagues of difficult road. We were on the point of perishing for lack of water and for having failed to obtain a guide at the said settlement. We learned that from the settlement to the cattle are two days of travel, more or less, following the route of which the said Indians had told us. We came back over the same route we had followed on our first incursion, because we knew of no other.

We sent ahead the Indian we had taken as guide from the *ranchería*. He was well laden with meat and very happy because he had seen us kill the cattle. Indeed it seemed as if the will of God had planned that no one should fire his *harquebus* at the cattle without felling one. This greatly astonished the guide who had led us to the said cattle. When he was gone he told of what he had seen us do; how we killed the cattle, and other things. In view of this the whole *ranchería* which we had left behind and from which we had taken the said guide by force came to meet us peacefully. They said that they wanted to take us to the cattle, that they would take us to a place where there were many of them, as they showed us by signs. We gave them part of what we had, viz., of the meat, to those who seemed to be *caciques*, for they stand out readily. We told them we would return shortly. They were much pleased by

50. The reference is to the Canadian river valley.

this and gave us to understand that they would await us. Thus we left them. However we were on our guard, in order that under the pretext of friendship and peace which they showed us they should not want to avenge the seizure of the guide whom we had taken from them to go to the cattle. He was one of their own people. Thus we returned to the said settlement.

Chapter XII. Telling how upon our arrival at the said settlement we gave orders that they should provide us with food supplies.

When we arrived at the said settlement, at the pueblo which we named Piedra Alta,⁵¹ we decided that at that pueblo we would start (51a) to explain how we had run short of provisions, in order that the natives of the said pueblo and of the others, should give us the food and provisions we needed for our support. Moreover if they gave us these things in this pueblo they would be given to us everywhere in the province. For up to that time they had not been asked for anything for our maintenance.

We all assembled to speak to our leader in order to determine the method which should be used in gathering the provisions. It was decided that first of all they should be told by means of signs that we had run out of the supplies which we had brought for our support, and since they had plenty they should give us some of it because we wanted to go away. When they saw this and that the supplies we had brought had been exhausted they thought of catching us and killing us by starvation, and they acted as if deaf. We told our leader that the natives had paid no attention to us, that they pretended not to understand us. To this our leader replied that it was not proper to take it from them by force, for we saw plainly that the people were very numerous in these pueblos, that they would give the warning and that within an hour three thousand men would gather and kill us. Seeing that our leader had replied in those words the said soldier answered that inasmuch as he had authority to take from them the provisions we needed for ourselves as well as for our horses he should make use of it, because we wanted to die fighting, not from starvation, since we were in a country with plenty of food. The said leader rejoined that we could do what we thought best, provided there should not be any disturbance in the country and that they should give us the provisions willingly, because he was ill.

When our men saw that the native Indians were becoming hostile to our request seven companions and our leader, who rose from the

51. A mistake in the manuscript for Piedra Ita. For location, see note 100.

51a. The Spanish reads: ". . . se empezase á dar cuenta. . ."

illness afflicting him, armed themselves and went to the said pueblo with their arms and horses in readiness for war. When the Indians saw we were armed they withdrew into their houses, entering and fortifying themselves in the said pueblo, which was composed of three hundred three and four story houses all of stone.⁵² The said Spaniards seeing that the Indians had retired to their houses entered the town, and carrying a cross X in their hands asked them to give them some ground corn flour because they had nothing to eat. They understood it, but held back, not wishing to give it. Seeing the evil intentions which the Indians harbored, some of our men fired a few harquebuses, pretending to aim at them in order that through fear they might be intimidated into giving us the food we needed, and in order that they should understand that they had to give it to us either willingly or by force.

In order that no one should complain of having much and another little the said soldiers decided that each house should contribute a little. For this purpose a measure was made which contained about half an *almud*⁵³ of ground corn flour. Then the natives, because of their fear of us and of the harquebuses and because they saw that they roared a great deal and spat fire like lightning, thought that we were immortal, since we had told them we were children of the sun and that the sun had given them to us for our defense. Thus all the Indians of the said town brought us much ground corn from every house. As we did not ask them for anything else except food for ourselves they all gave something and told us they were our friends. However the friendship they showed for us was due more to fear than to anything else. We were on our guard lest that as Indians they should treacherously plan some trick to hit us in the head.

Since they had given us nine loads of flour at that town as a present the news spread throughout the province, and thus we were given exactly the same amount, no more nor less, at the other towns. Accordingly we did not lack food during the entire trip. We gave many thanks to God for this and for the many favors He had granted us, which enabled us never to lack provisions. Thus they gave us supplies as tribute in all the pueblos, and they are accustomed to it, so that they will not resent giving it when someone goes to start settlements [among them]. Together with the supply of corn and flour which they had given us they gave us large numbers of turkeys, for they have large flocks of them and do not value them highly. Of the provisions they offered and gave us we took only

52. Hence the name, Piedra Ita.

53. The *almud* is an old measure equal to about an English peck.

what was necessary, and what was left over we returned to them. This pleased them very much and they told us they were our friends and that they would give us food and whatever we might need. They did this due to fear rather than because they desired to give it to us.

Chapter XIII. Concerning how they desired to kill us, the gathering that was held and how they began to lose their fear of us.

After what has been related above had taken place and after they had given us what we needed for our support the natives determined, as Indians, to seize us treacherously during the night and kill us if they could. The cause was that after seeing the settlement, and being very much pleased with it, Father Fray Juan de Santa María, one of the religious in the party, decided to return to the land of the Christians to give an account and report of what had been discovered to his prelate and his excellency.⁵⁴ Everyone condemned his determination as being neither right for him nor for the said soldiers, [and said] that he should not go, because he was placing us in great danger and was going through hostile territory, and because we had not yet examined the nature of the land. [We said] that he should wait until we had seen everything about which the natives had informed us, that we should go to see the cattle in order that a complete report of all this might be taken to his prelate and to his excellency, for any account that he could give was insignificant as we had not seen the best part. To this advice offered him Fray Juan de Santa María replied that he was determined to go to the Christian land, to leave and report on what he had seen. His departure brought about disturbance in the land and caused us much harm. Without being given permission by his superior he left the party on the eve of the day of Our Lady of September.⁵⁵

When the natives saw that the friar was leaving us they became alarmed, believing he was going to bring Christians to put the natives out of their homes, for they asked us by means of signs where that man was going all alone. We tried to dissuade them

54. Father Santa María's departure from New Mexico took place on September 8, 1581. On September 10 an affidavit of his leave-taking was made. A. G. I., 58-3-9. A translation of this document may be found in *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, XXIX, 224-231. His departure thus occurred before the expedition to the buffalo plains, which was not begun till September 28.

55. By "Nuestra Señora de Septiembre" Gallegos refers to the birthday of the Blessed Virgin Mary, September 8. September is her holy name. *The Book of Days*, R. Chambers, ed., II, 323.

from the malevolent thoughts which they had exhibited, but this did not prevent the Indians from evil doings, as they were Indians. The evil was that they followed the said friar and after two or three days travel from us they killed him. We heard of this when we returned from the cattle, for until then we knew nothing. Even though the natives told us they had killed him in the sierra, which we named the Sierra Morena, we pretended not to understand it. Seeing that we paid no attention to the death of the said friar and that they had killed him so easily they thought they would kill us just as easily. From then on they knew we were mortal, because up to that time they had thought us immortal.⁵⁶

When we saw the natives had killed the said friar and that they intended to do the same thing to us we decided to withdraw gradually. We stopped at a pueblo which we named Malpartida, from which at a distance of a league we discovered some mineral deposits. While we were at this pueblo other Indians from the pueblo which we named Malagón killed three of our horses.⁵⁷ We soon missed them and learned how the Indians of the district of Malagón had killed them. When the leader and the soldiers saw

56. A controversy has been indulged in by some, especially by Dr. J. L. Mecham and Father Zephyrin Engelhardt, O. F. M., relative to this expedition. Mr. Mecham speaks of the "Chamuscado-Rodríguez exploring party," indicating that the missionary purpose of the group was only of secondary interest. Father Engelhardt says, "There was no such exploring party with Brother Rodríguez a member." He would have us believe that the missionaries were the leaders of the enterprise, while Chamuscado and the soldiers were to act as their protectors. Mecham's view is more nearly the opposite. As a matter of fact our information regarding the organization of the expedition is scant. Perhaps the true explanation lies somewhere between these extremes. The soldiers certainly did not pay their own expenses on such an expedition merely for the honor of guarding the friars. They were also interested in prospecting, in material gain. The reason that they accompanied the missionaries was that the laws of 1573, regulating new conquests, forbade the customary marauding expeditions into new territory. Henceforth explorations must be conducted under the guise of missionary enterprises. They had accordingly seized the opportunity offered in 1581 to go to New Mexico in the company of the friars and as their protectors. Once in New Mexico they were determined to see all that there was to be seen in the province, whereas the friars were more interested in spreading the Holy Gospel. From then on their interests diverged. See Mecham, *op. cit.*, 255 ff; also his "Supplementary Documents relating to the Chamuscado-Rodríguez Expedition," in *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, XXIX, 224-231; Father Zephyrin Engelhardt, O. F. M., "El Yllustre Señor Xamuscado," in *ibid.*, XIX, 296-300. Also, *Catholic Historical Review*, and *The Southwestern Catholic*, Jan. 6 and 13, 1922, for further comment by Father Engelhardt.

57. Malagón, near Malpartida, was probably identical with San Lázaro, a pueblo ruin twelve miles southwest of Lamy. Mecham, "The Second Spanish Expedition," *op. cit.*, 283.

this they⁵⁸ determined that a case like that should not go unpunished. The said leader ordered five of the party, Pedro de Bustamente, Hernán Gallegos, Pedro Sánchez de Chaves, Felipe de Escalante and Pedro Sánchez de Fuensalida, to go to the town of Malagón, where it was reported they had killed the three horses, to discover and bring before him the guilty, either peacefully or by force, and to make some arrests at the said pueblo in order to intimidate the natives.

When the soldiers saw what their leader had ordered the five afore-mentioned comrades, the latter armed themselves and their horses and went to the said pueblo of Malagón which they found had eighty houses of three and four stories with plazas and streets. Entering it in fighting order and as men who were angry they asked the said Indians on top of the houses in the said pueblo,—who were the ones that had killed the horses that we missed. In order to ward off the harm that might befall them they replied they had done no such thing. As soon as we saw that they replied they had not done it, we discharged the harquebuses to make them believe we wanted to kill them. We incurred great risk in doing this, for [we were only] five men to invest eighty houses in which there were over a thousand souls. When we had fired our harquebuses they entered their houses frightened and stayed there. To placate us they threw many dead turkeys down the corridors to us, but we decided not to take them that they might know we were angry. Then we asked twenty or thirty men who appeared up on the roof and who seemed to be chieftains of the pueblo - the cacique among them - to give us the horses or those who had killed them. To this they replied that the people from that pueblo had not done it and they asked us not to be angry, for they were our friends.

Since they did not deliver those who had killed them Hernán Gallegos, Pedro Sánchez de Fuensalida and Pedro de Bustamente dismounted and went up to the houses to see if they could find any trace of the flesh of the horses. The other men guarded the pueblo so that their companions should not run any risk. Then Hernán Gallegos and Pedro de Bustamente found pieces of horseflesh in two houses of the said pueblo. At once they came out and notified the other comrades of the discovery of the flesh. Next the harquebuses were fired once more and the Indians, seeing what we did, were more frightened than emboldened, since we had done as we wished with such determination. Then the said Hernán Gallegos and Pedro de Bustamente mounted, and all five men holding horseflesh in their hands, again asked the Indians who were looking at them, who of

58. The Spanish form is "we."

their number had killed those horses whose flesh we had found there. [We told them] to give us the Indians who had killed them because we wanted to kill them or take them to our leader that he might have them put to death. Furthermore if they did not want to give them up we would have to kill them all. [We challenged them] to come out of the pueblo into the open to see whether they were brave men. They were very sad and answered that they did not want to fight with us, for we were brave men, that in the next pueblo were the Indians who had killed our horses, thinking they were cattle like theirs.

Then the said soldiers attacked the pueblo again in order to capture some Indians. The said Indians took refuge in the said pueblo and some of them hurled themselves from the corridors into the open in order to escape. Hernán Gallegos and Pedro de Bustamente rushed after them and each took his Indian by the hair. The natives were very swift, but the horses overtook them. After apprehending them they and the other soldiers took them to the camp, where the said leader was, so that in view of the crime which the natives had committed they might be chastised, both as a punishment for them and as an example for the others.

Before this and before returning to the said camp we decided to set fire to the pueblo so they should know they must not perpetrate such a crime again. The mentioned Pedro de Bustamente then picked up a bit of hay, fire was started by means of the *harquebus*, and he wanted to set fire to the said pueblo. But it was not allowed by the other companions that the town should be burned and so many people perish, in order that what had been done by eight should not be atoned for by all.⁵⁹

Thus we returned to the said camp⁶⁰ with the said prisoners and delivered them to our leader, who ordered that they should be beheaded on the morning of the following day. To this the said soldiers replied, warning him to consider what it meant to imprison those Indians for a day; that it was not good policy; that if they were to be executed it should be done at once, for there were over a thousand men in the camp who would attempt some wickedness on account of the imprisonment of said Indians. When the said leader saw that what the said soldiers told him was right he ordered that Pedro de Bustamente together with the *escribano* and the other soldiers should place a block in the middle of the plaza of the said

59. That is, by those who might subsequently come to New Mexico.

60. At the pueblo of Malpartida, Mecham states that they returned to the pueblo of Galisteo, *op. cit.*, 285. This is clearly erroneous, as Gallegos explicitly states they were at Malpartida. See above.

camp, where the other Indians were watching, and that their heads should be severed with a cutlass as punishment for them and as an example for the others. This was carried out as ordered.⁶¹ However as the religious had decided to remain in that settlement it was determined to do it in such a way that at the time when the said Indians were to be beheaded they [the friars] should rush out to free them, assail us and take them away from us in order that they might love them. [This was done] because they wished and were determined to remain in that land. It was planned in such a way that at the moment when they went to cut off the heads of the Indians the friars came out in flowing robes and removed the Indians from the block. As we pretended that we were going to take them, the Indians who were watching immediately took hold of the said friars and Indians and carried them away to their houses because of the great support they had found in the religious. Due to what had been done and attempted the natives became so terrified of us that it was surprising how they trembled. This was willed by God on high because our forces were small.

On the morning of the next day there came from the town of Malagón many Indians laden with much food and many turkeys for our support. [They entreated us] not to be angry with them, for they would not do it again.⁶² In the future they would watch and round up the horses so that none would be lost. [They assured us] that they were our friends. We were very much pleased at this, although we did not let them know about it, in order that they and the others might fear us more than they did.

A few days later they assembled for the purpose of killing us. But that did not deter us from going to explore the land in order to verify the information that had been given us. When we left and [again] when we returned to the said camp we realized plainly and definitely they wanted to kill us and that the people were gathering for that purpose. We decided to take precautions and to keep watch very carefully as we had done up to that time. As we did this with more zeal than in the past the natives became aware of it. If they had shown us great friendship before this, adding [to this zeal] the fear they had of us, they showed much more now. We came to know clearly from these very people that they wanted to kill us. We wanted to attack and kill them and burn some of their small pueblos even though we should perish in the attempt in order that they might fear the Spaniards. We challenged them many times so that they might know there was no cowardice in us. But as the

61. That is, the chopping block was set up in the plaza; no heads were cut off.

62. *Viz.*, they would not kill any more horses.

friars had decided to remain in the said settlement we sometimes, in fact most of the time, relinquished our rights in order that the fathers might be left happy in this province. Nevertheless their stay was against the judgment of all, because the natives had killed the other father and because they were to remain among so many idolatrous people.

EVIL PRAC- The rituals performed by the people of this settlement
TISES OF were not learned, except that when some one dies they
THESE PEO- dance and rejoice, for they say the one who dies goes to
PLE. him whom they worship. They cast them in caves like
cellars which they have. Every year on designated days they offer
and throw many things at the foot of the cellars where they place
these bodies.

The *mitotes* which they perform to bring rain when there is a lack of water for their irrigated corn fields are of the following nature.⁶³ During the month of December they begin to perform their dances. They continue more than four months at intervals of a certain number of days, every fifteen days, I believe. The *mitotes* are general, for the people gather in large numbers, only the men, the women never. They begin in the morning and last until evening and are held around a mosque which they have for this purpose. [They continue] throughout the night. An Indian chosen for the purpose sits in the midst of them and they dance before him. Close to this Indian are six Indians holding fifteen or twenty sticks.⁶⁴ They walk about and dance. At each dance one of them steps out and puts seven sticks into his mouth which are three spans in length and two fingers in width. When he finishes putting them in and taking them out of his mouth he remains as if fatigued. Then he dances with two or three of the said sticks in his mouth. Next they give the one who is sitting as 'lord' seven lashes with some whips made for the purpose of light flexible willows. These lashes are given him by the Indians who stand close to him, for he has six Indians on each side, so that at each dance they give him thirty-six lashes. These lashes are given in such a manner that they draw blood, making him look like a Discipulant. When they have administered these seven lashes they continue to dance and to give him an equal number of lashes until they make him bleed in such a way that his

63. In the main the long and intricate ceremonies, including the dance ceremonies, performed by the Indians of the southwest are invocations for rain, bountiful harvests and the creation of life. See Hodge, *Handbook*, I, 382; and Farrand, *L. Basis of American History*, 187.

64. These are prayer sticks. Without them the prayer would be ineffectual.

blood flows as if they had bled him. [They do this] until he begins to collapse. But in spite of this he shows no sign of pain. On the contrary he speaks to a large snake as thick as an arm and which coils up when it wants to talk. The whipped 'lord' calls to it, and it answers in such a manner that it can be understood. We thought this might have been the devil who has them enslaved. For this reason God our Lord willed that this settlement and its idolatrous people should be discovered in order that they might come to the true knowledge.

Furthermore at these *mitotes* two Indians carrying two vipers in their hands walk around in their midst. The vipers are real, for one can hear the rattles which these snakes have. They coil around the neck and creep all over the body. They come dancing and performing their motions toward the place where the lashed man is, whom they acknowledge and obey as 'lord' on that occasion. They hold the vipers in their hands and falling on their knees before the flayed one give him the two snakes. He takes them and they creep up his arms toward his body, making a great deal of noise with their rattles, and they wind about his neck. Then the flayed one rises, swings around quickly and the snakes fall to the ground and coil up. Then they are picked up by those who brought them, who, kneeling take them and put them in their mouths and disappear through a little door which they have.

When this is over two domestics come there. These go around among the natives howling in startling and depressing manner. As soon as this *mitote* is over the one who has been lashed gives a certain number of sticks adorned with many plumes, that they may place them in the corn fields and water pools, because these people worship and offer sacrifice before the water holes. They do this and say that they will then never lack water. The ones who suffer the flaying remain so badly lacerated that their wounds do not heal in two months. They are so neat and well adorned in these *mitotes* and dances that it is a thing worth seeing.

The custom of their marriages is described here so that it may be seen how much ability God our Lord has bestowed upon the people of this settlement.⁶⁵ It is that whenever anyone wishes to marry according to their practise all his relatives and part of the settlement assemble and perform their dances. The marriage and the festivities last more than three days. The first thing they give them is a house in which they may live. This is given to them as a dowry by the father and mother-in-law, parents of the bride. The

65. Regarding marriage customs of the pueblo Indians, see Hodge, *Handbook*, I, 809; and Farrand, *op. cit.*, 185-186.

house is two, three or four stories high. In these stories they have eight or ten rooms. The newly married couple are seated on a bench. At the side of the bride stands an Indian woman as bridesmaid and on the side of the groom stands a male Indian who act as groomsman. Separated from them stands an old man of many days, very well dressed in painted and worked blankets. He acts as the priest, and tells them from time to time to kiss and embrace and they do as the old man tells them.

They place before them their painted and adorned blankets and the groom clothes his bride with her blankets and she places his on him in such a way that they clothe one another. Then the old man talks. As we did not know the language we did not understand what he was saying. But by the motions we understood he was telling them that they should love each other very much, for that was the purpose for which they had been united. When this is over they place before the bride a millstone, a pot, a flat earthenware pan, vessels, *chucubites*, and the *metate* in her hand. The old man tells the bride that those things placed before and given her, which are all entirely new, signify that with them she is to grind and prepare food for her husband; that she is to feed him and to prepare two meals for him every day, one in the morning and the other in the afternoon. They dine and retire early and rise before day-break. She answers she will do so.

Then he speaks to the groom. They place before him a Turkish bow, a lance, club and shield. These things are to signify to him that with those weapons he is to defend his home and to protect his wife and children. They give him his crate and *mecapal*⁶⁶ for carrying burdens. Then they place a hoe in his hand to signify that with it he has to till and cultivate the soil and gather corn to support his wife and children. He answers that he will do everything indicated. Moreover they give him lands in which to plant corn. Then the dances continue. Afterward they are taken to their house. All that day there is food in plenty. This consists of turkeys, beef, tomales, tortillas and other things. The order with which they do what has been described above is astounding. For a barbarous people the neatness they observe in everything is surprising.

Account of the pueblos that were seen, of the names they bear and which were given them because of ignorance of the language of the people, and of the information gathered [concerning the land] farther on.

First a pueblo [was found], the first to be seen, which was

66. It is a leather band with ropes used by porters.

De la cion de los pueblos que nacen

primera mente vinuello de pie elprim pñe de la
 cipio por nom bre pñe de pie que me gñe de pie
 am y real- me de pie que me gñe de pie
 am y real- me de pie que me gñe de pie

[illegible]

que de las abas y otros a este pueblo son 8 de las abas
que de la abas de donde esta el pueblo primero que
ta de las abas como de los otros pueblos que tenia y por
deda los por la abas no bien a mil que

(2) Para començar de l' d' Supra el llo de mar en qual se deu cobrir
 o trociscillo que rema quarenta e tres, e doze e tres pias e llo
 non bre sin pias

62 2da della 1ra banda dell'apario & antero del p. b. b.
il 2do della 1ra banda del p. b. b. 3i caso del 2do p. b. b.
per nome p. b. b.

A PAGE OF THE GALLEGOS RELATION

named San Felipe.⁶⁷ It had about forty-five houses two and three stories high.⁶⁸ In this pueblo possession was taken of the whole province for his majesty, on the twenty-first day of the month of August in the year fifteen hundred and eighty-one. From this pueblo they began to discover all the other pueblos and provinces. It is located along a river which we named the Guadalquivir river,⁶⁹ of which the natives had told us.

Likewise, close to this pueblo of San Felipe, on the same side of the river where the first pueblo is located, another pueblo was found about two leagues distant, containing about forty-seven two story houses. It was named San Miguel.⁷⁰

On the opposite bank of this river, across from the pueblo of San Miguel, is another pueblo which has twenty-five houses two stories high. It was named Santiago.⁷¹

Likewise, above this pueblo of San Miguel there was found another pueblo containing about forty two story houses. It was named San Juan.⁷²

Likewise, on the other side of the said river, opposite the pueblo of San Juan, another pueblo was found containing about thirty-five two story houses. It was named Piastra.⁷³

On this same bank, above the said Piastra, there was found another pueblo of about eighty-five two story houses built around two plazas. It was named Piña. This pueblo is located in a large meadow formed by the said river.

Farther up along this river, on the side of the Sierra Morena, another pueblo was found which was named Elota.⁷⁴ It has fourteen houses two stories high.

On the same bank farther up the river another pueblo was discovered which was called El Hosso.⁷⁵ It has fifty houses two stories high.

Near this pueblo, on the said shore, on a basin formed by this

67. The Spaniards were coming up the west side of the Rio Grande. There is no mention in any of the documents that they crossed the Rio Grande.

68. It was one of the Piro villages in the San Marcial region, perhaps near Fort Craig. Meeham, "The Second Spanish Expedition," *op. cit.*, 273. In this very valuable paper Dr. Meeham has attempted to locate practically all the pueblos mentioned by Gallegos. His findings will be briefly given in these notes.

69. The Rio Grande.

70. Identical with Trenaquel. Meeham, *op. cit.*, 273.

71. Identical with Qualacu. *Ibid.*

72. Seemingly identical with Senecu, located at San Antonio. *Ibid.*, 274.

73. It compares with San Pascual. *Ibid.*

74. Piña and Elota were in the Socorro district. *Ibid.*, 275.

75. It seems to agree with Alamillo in locations. *Ibid.*

same bank of the river, another pueblo containing fourteen houses two stories high was found. It was named La Pedrosa.⁷⁶

Along this said river another pueblo of twenty-five two story houses was discovered. It was named Ponsitlan.

Moreover along this river another pueblo containing twenty-five two story houses was found. It was named Pueblo Nuevo.⁷⁷ It was given this name because the building of this new town was just begun.

Above the said pueblo of Ponsitlan another pueblo was discovered. It had fifteen houses two stories high. It was named Caxtole.⁷⁸

On the opposite bank of this river, facing the pueblo of Caxtole, another pueblo containing one hundred two story houses was found. It was named Piquinagutengo.⁷⁹

On the opposite bank of the river, on the side of the Sierra Morena, there is another pueblo of forty houses two stories high. It was named Mexicalcingo.

Above this pueblo there was discovered another one that had seventy houses two and three stories high. This pueblo is divided into two sections, the one being an harquebus shot distant from the other. It was named Tomatlan.

Fronting this pueblo of Tomatlan, on the opposite bank of the river, another pueblo which had one hundred and twenty-three two and three story houses was found. It was named Taxumulco.⁸⁰

Up the river, above the pueblo of Taxumulco, there was discovered another pueblo containing one hundred houses of two and three stories. It was named Santa Catalina.⁸¹

Up the opposite side of the river, toward the Sierra Morena, another pueblo containing fifty two story houses was found. It was named San Mattheo.⁸²

Likewise, above the pueblo of San Mattheo, another pueblo of

76. La Pedrosa was only two harquebus shots distant from El Osso. *Ibid*

77. Both Ponsitlan and Pueblo Nuevo, the last of the Piro villages, were on the east bank of the Rio Grande, one of them probably being identical with Sevilleta. *Ibid*.

78. This is the first of the Tigua villages, located on the east side of the river.

79. Mecham identifies Piquinagutengo with the pueblo of San Clemente, on the present site of Los Lunas. *Ibid.*, 276.

80. Taxumulco was probably identical with Iselta. *Ibid*.

81. This pueblo agrees with Alameda in location. As Professor Hackett has shown it was west of the river in 1681. *Ibid*; and Hackett, C. W. "The Location of the Tigua pueblos of Alameda, Puaray, and Sandia, 1680-1681," in *Old Santa Fé*, II, 381 ff.

82. San Mateo was the Puaray of 1680. Mecham, *op. cit.*, 277.

one hundred and twenty-three houses of two and three stories was encountered. It was named Puaray.⁸³

On the bank of the river there was found another pueblo containing [there is a blank] of two and three stories.⁸⁴ It was named San Pedro. This pueblo is above Santa Catalina.

Above the pueblo of San Pedro another pueblo of forty houses two and three stories high was discovered. It was named Analco.

Above the said pueblo of Analco another pueblo with eighty-four two and three story houses was found. It was named Culiacán.

Above the said pueblo of Culiacán there is another pueblo containing one hundred houses two and three stories high. It was named Villarrasa.

Likewise, above the pueblo of Villarrasa is another pueblo of one hundred and thirty-four two and three story houses. It was named La Palma.

On the opposite side of the said river, above the pueblo called Puaray, there was found another pueblo of twenty houses two stories high. It was named Zenpoala.⁸⁵

Above this pueblo of Sempoala there was another pueblo that contained seventy-seven houses of two and three stories. It was named Nompe.

On the same side, up the said river, another pueblo of one hundred and twenty-three two and three story houses was found. It was named Malpais. It was given this name because it is close to a *malpais*.

Likewise, above this pueblo of Malpais, up the river, there was found another pueblo which had one hundred and forty-five houses of two and three stories. It was named Caseres.⁸⁶ Possession of it was taken for his majesty on the second day of September of the said year.

Further, above this town of Caseres another pueblo which had sixty houses of two and three stories was found. It was named Campos.⁸⁷

Likewise, opposite this pueblo of Campos, on the other side of

83. Mecham thinks that Gallegos' Puaray was identical with Sandia, which was one league above the Puaray of 1680. *Ibid.*, and Hackett, *op. cit.*, 333.

84. Mecham says its contained 62 houses. *Op. cit.*, 277.

85. These pueblos, Analco, Culiacán, Villarrasa, La Palma, and Sempoala, were in the region opposite Bernalillo. Mecham, *op. cit.*, 277.

86. Nompe, Malpais and Caseres were probably between Sandia and Bernalillo, on the east bank of the river. *Ibid.*, 277-278.

87. Campos was the first Queres pueblo seen. It was near the present site of Santo Domingo. *Ibid.*, 278.

the river, there was found another pueblo which had eighty houses of two and three stories. It was named Palomares.⁸⁸

Again, up the river, another pueblo of two hundred and thirty houses of two and three stories was discovered. It was named Medina de la Torre.⁸⁹

Near this town of Medina de la Torre, on the northern bank, along a stream that empties into the Guadalquivir river, near the said pueblo of Medina de la Torre, there was found a valley which was called Atotonilco, in which four pueblos were found.⁹⁰ The first was named Guatitlan. It contained seventy-six houses of two, three and four stories. The second was called La Guarda. It had one hundred houses of three and four stories. The third was named Valladolid. It had two hundred houses of three and four stories. In this pueblo possession was taken for his majesty on the sixth day of the said month and year. The fourth town, which contains sixty houses three and four stories high, was named La Rinconada, because it is in a turn of the valley.

On up this Guadalquivir river, above Medina de la Torre, another pueblo was found on the river bank which had forty houses of two stories. It was named Castilleja.⁹¹

Likewise, up the said river another pueblo was discovered which had two hundred houses three and four stories high. It was named Castildabid.⁹²

Further, up the said river there was found another pueblo that had ninety houses of two and three stories. It was named Suchipila.

Above the pueblo of Suchipila there was found another pueblo of eighty houses three and four stories high. It was named Talavan.⁹³

Likewise, up the said river, along a large stream apart from the river on the northern side, there was discovered another pueblo which had five hundred houses from one to seven stories high. It was called La Nueva Tlascala.⁹⁴ It was taken in the name of his majesty. At this pueblo they said that farther on were other pue-

88. The probable location was near Cubero. *Ibid.*

89. Identical with Cochiti. *Ibid.*, 279.

90. The party had turned up the Santa Fé river.

91. Dr. Mecham mistakenly says that Gallegos gave this pueblo no name. It was perhaps San Ildefonso. *Ibid.*, 281.

92. It was on the present site of San Juan, opposite the mouth of the Chama river. *Ibid.*

93. Suchipila and Talavan were north of Castildabid. Mecham thinks one of them was Picuries, but Mr. L. B. Bloom of the New Mexico Historical Society disagrees on the ground that it was too far from the river. *Ibid.*

94. This was evidently Taos.

blos, which they indicated by signs to be very large.⁹⁵ They were not visited due to lack of time.

Likewise, there was discovered a stream carrying much water which flows into the Guadalquivir river from the south.⁹⁶ This said stream forms a valley which, as it was so good and luxuriant, was named Valle Visiosa. In it three pueblos were discovered. The first is close to the said river, opposite the pueblo of Castildabid. It has two hundred houses three and four stories high. It was named Castilblanco.⁹⁷

Further, the second pueblo had two hundred houses of three and four stories. It was named Buena Vista.

Likewise, the third pueblo had sixty houses three stories high. It was named La Barranca.⁹⁸ At this pueblo of La Barranca information was obtained to the effect that in this valley, at a distance of three days up the river, there were thirteen pueblos. The natives indicated that they were located toward the south. These pueblos were not visited because the discoverers were very few, and because the supplies we carried had given out.

Further, another valley was discovered five leagues from the said Guadalquivir river. This was named Valle de San Mattheo.⁹⁹

95. Perhaps the Spaniards misunderstood the Indians. At least they had reached the greatest of the pueblo establishments in Taos.

96. From the west. It was the Chama river.

97. This may be identified with Chamita, north of the Chama. The question as to whether there was a pueblo south of the Chama near the Rio Grande has aroused much discussion. The celebrated Martínez map shows that San Gabriel, Oñate's capital, was south of the Chama, while another pueblo, Chama, was on the north side. The New Mexico historians, Twitchell, Bloom and others, insist that the map must be in error as no archaeological sites have ever been identified south of the confluence of the Chama and the Rio Grande. They hold that both were north of the Chama, the map being too small to locate them in their proper places. Mecham evidently assumes, though he does not say so, that Gallegos substantiates this view, as he places Buena Vista and La Barranca, the other pueblos visited, higher up the Chama. Perhaps he is right. We know that ruins have been found above Chamita. And there is nothing in the report of Gallegos to show that they might have been elsewhere. Captain Espinosa, in describing San Gabriel in 1601, gives an equally tantalising account. He says there was a pueblo right across the Rio Grande from San Gabriel, (which was San Juan) and that is all he has to report. He does not indicate whether the capital was north or south of the Chama. Perhaps that would show that there were no other pueblos in the immediate vicinity. Such reasoning as this is however not conclusive in disproving the data given in the Martínez map. See Mecham, *op. cit.*, 282 and note 63; Bolton, *Spanish Exploration*, 212; testimony of Captain Marcelo Espinosa in the Valverde Inquiry.

98. Buena Vista and La Barranca were probably situated up the Chama river, above Castilblanco. Mecham, *op. cit.*, 282.

99. The Spaniards had now descended the Rio Grande to the Galisteo valley which they christened San Mateo. They were led in that direction by reports of the buffalo.

Four pueblos were discovered here, the first of which had three hundred houses five stories high. It was named Piedra Quita.¹⁰⁰ It was given this name because all of it is of rock.

The second pueblo had one hundred and forty houses four stories high. It was named Galisteo.¹⁰¹

The third pueblo had one hundred houses three stories high. It was named Malpartida.¹⁰²

The fourth pueblo had eighty houses three stories high. It was named Malagón.¹⁰³ At this pueblo we were informed that on the slopes of the Sierra Morena were two large pueblos, which were not visited on account of incidents that prevented it.

FAMOUS Back of the Sierra Morena some salines were found which **SALINES** extended for five leagues. These are the best salines ever discovered by Christians. The salt resembles the salt of the sea. At the Salines five pueblos were found. The first had one hundred and twenty-five houses two stories high. It was named Zacatula.

The second had two hundred houses of two and three stories. It was named Ruiseco.

The third pueblo had ninety houses of three stories. It was named La Mesa.

The fourth pueblo had ninety-five houses two and three stories high. It was named La Hoya.

The fifth pueblo had sixty-five houses two and three stories high. It was named Franca Vila.¹⁰⁴ At this pueblo we were informed that away from the salines were three very large pueblos. According to their indications they seemed to be large cities.¹⁰⁵ They were not visited due to the heavy snowfall which the discoverers experienced at that time.

Likewise, from the pueblo of Caceres the soldier-explorers went to discover a valley of which the said leader and chief had been given great reports. This valley was said to be five leagues from the said river Guadalquivir. This valley [Pueblo] was named Puerto Frio. This pueblo is in a ravine close to a river of water that flows near this pueblo.

100. Piedra Ita (Quita) is identical with San Cristóbal, the easternmost pueblo in the Galisteo valley. *Ibid.*, 283. The manuscript reads Piedra hita, but the "hita" has been crossed out and "quita" written in above.

101. It was identical with the pueblo ruin of the same name. *Ibid.*

102. Malpartida, from which Father Santa María set out toward New Spain, was the same as San Marcos, four miles northeast of Cerrillos. *Ibid.*

103. Malagón agrees with San Lázaro in location. It is a small pueblo ruin twelve miles southwest of Lamy. *Ibid.*

104. Meham concludes that these pueblos were Tigua villages situated between Chilití and Manzano.

105. Probably Abó, Tenabó, and Tabirá. *Ibid.*, 288.

Likewise, in the Valle de Santiago another pueblo with one hundred houses two and three stories high was found. It was named Baños.¹⁰⁶ In this pueblo of Baños the discoverers were told that up that very valley were thirteen pueblos, which were not visited on account of the heavy snowfalls.

Further, the said lord chief and soldiers were informed that thirty-five leagues from the said river Guadalquivir were many pueblos and a mineral deposit. In view of this the said leader sent the said explorers and conquerors to visit and explore the land and to learn the truth. On leaving the said pueblo¹⁰⁷ in the direction the natives had mentioned, and after marching for two days along the said river toward the north,¹⁰⁸ they found a pueblo which was on a strong position. According to the discoverers it is the best

A VERY stronghold in existence among Christians. This pueblo
LARGE has five hundred houses three and four stories high.
FORTRESS It was called Acoma. At this pueblo information was sought as to whether there were more people farther on. The natives said that two days beyond that pueblo of Acoma toward the south¹⁰⁹ were many pueblos and also the mineral deposit which we were seeking. With this information the said explorers continued on their journey with an Indian as guide. After two days they came to a valley named Suñi in which they found and explored five pueblos.¹¹⁰ The first had seventy-five three story houses. It was named Aquima.¹¹¹

The second pueblo had one hundred houses four and five stories high. It is named Maça.¹¹²

The third pueblo is called Alonagua.¹¹³ It had forty-four three and four story houses.

The fourth pueblo is named Aguico.¹¹⁴ It had one hundred and twenty-five houses of two and three stories.

106. The Valle de Santiago was the Jemez valley. The pueblos of Puerto Frio and Baños were near the present Santa Ana and Sia. *Ibid.*, 285.

107. We are left to conjecture which pueblo is meant, but it may have been Puaray since it was here that the padres remained.

108. They were marching westward.

109. Toward the west.

110. There were actually six pueblos. Mr. F. W. Hodge in an excellent article on "The Six Cities of Cibola, 1581-1680," published in the *New Mexico Historical Review* for October, 1926, (Vol. I, 473-488) has fully unraveled the muddle regarding them. The problem has become worse with the publication of every new document, for in practically each instance the names have appeared in altered form.

111. Mr. Hodge finds Aquima to be Kiakima. *Ibid.*, 485.

112. Identical with Matsaki. *Ibid.*, 484.

113. The pueblo of Halona. *Ibid.*, 486.

114. Hawikuh. *Ibid.*, 480. ff.

The other pueblo, which is the fifth, had forty-four three and four story houses.¹¹⁵

Likewise, in this said valley they informed us that two days from there were five pueblos and a mineral deposit.¹¹⁶ It was not visited because we had not brought the necessary provisions. This is the best valley that has been discovered, because all of it is cultivated and not a grain of corn is lost. The houses are all of stone, which is indeed surprising. All the houses in this settlement had their corridors, windows, doorways and wooden stairways by means of which they ascend to them. There is not a house of two or three stories that does not have eight rooms or more. This was what surprised us more than anything else. [We were also surprised] to see that the houses are plastered and painted inside and outside. The pueblos have their plazas and streets. They often make sleeping-mats of straw for their rooms on which they sleep. Some make them of fine, light palm.

Chapter XIV. Concerning how we turned back after seeing the land, the events of our return, and how the said friars remained in the said settlement.

After having seen everything in the land that could be seen or learned of, the said leader and the other soldiers decided to return to the land of Christians before any misfortune might befall them and before the natives should attempt to carry out their evil plan. Thus they took leave of the friars who had decided to remain at that settlement, in a pueblo called Puaray, which contains one hundred and twenty-four houses two and three stories high. However their stay was very much against our will, as the Indians had killed the said friar Juan de Santa María.

When the leader saw the determination of the said friars he required them once, twice and thrice, in the name of God and of his majesty, to leave and not to remain, for they would be in great danger and the land would revolt whenever any misfortune befell them; that at present they could not accomplish any good results, not till there were Spanish forces to compel the natives to do anything; and that they should go to their superiors to report concerning the land that they might send the necessary aid. The chief ordered that testimony of all this should be drawn up.¹¹⁷ In view

115. No name for this pueblo is given by Gallegos. In fact there were six pueblos, the additional names being found in a list appended to Gallegos' report. They are Coaqina and Acana.

116. The reference is doubtless to the Moqui pueblos in northeastern Arizona.

117. An affidavit was drawn up February 13, 1582, certifying to these facts in proper form. Translation in *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, XXIX, 230-231.

of this and of what the leader and the said soldiers had spoken and suggested the said friars replied that they would remain, that no one could force them to abandon the good purpose they had of preaching the Holy Gospel, and that they would excommunicate them if they resorted to violence.

When the leader saw the reply of the religious he tried to leave the natives friendly, at peace with us and with the fathers, and to let them know how we intended to return to our land to call many Christians and to bring more women. They rejoiced greatly at this and promised they would look after them and would regale and support them; that inasmuch as we wanted to go back to our country we should go and bring back many Spaniards with their wives, because they wanted to see what they looked like and the way they dressed; and that when we came back they would have the fathers fat and well kept. Since the Indians had shown such good will toward the fathers for their stay and toward us for departing from them we left the said pueblo of Puaray. Some Indians were sad at our departure, but we were all especially affected at leaving one another, the friars as well as the soldiers. Consequently some of the soldiers were determined to stay, but for certain reasons pointed out by the leader no one dared to remain.

We left this pueblo and the friars on the last day of the month of January,¹¹⁸ determined to return quickly to Christian territory to bring help for the conversion of those natives. We went down the same river by which we had come. On leaving the said pueblo of Puaray and having gone twenty leagues from the said province, six settlements and mineral deposits were discovered.¹¹⁹ These are in a very fine place with abundant water and timber. [They had] very good veins, rich in contents, and many enclosures which, in the opinion of all of our men, were and are very good, for nearly all were miners who knew about mines, veins and meals.

After our leader and magistrate of the said expedition had seen, taken possession of, and recorded these discoveries we were informed of six or seven other discoveries, but due to lack of iron for horse-shoes, which had been exhausted, we did not go to discover them. Moreover we wanted to keep the promise which we had given to both the friars and the native Indians that our departure would be brief.

118. 1582.

119. Mr. Meham locates this discovery in the San Mateo mountains, though the distance from Puaray is much greater than the 20 leagues which Gallegos mentions. For that reason the location should undoubtedly be farther north, perhaps in the mountains in the region of the Salado river. Both of these views are based on the supposition that the party was on the west side of the Rio Grande. Cf. note 67.

This and other causes prevented us from going to locate those mining discoveries. Nevertheless according to the signs and indications given us by the natives and from what they said they must be near that place. And, God willing, we shall locate them when the land is settled. Furthermore, there are so many mines that it is indeed marvelous.

When the said leader and the soldiers saw so many mineral deposits and materials in the land to facilitate its settlement they decided, in order that the natives of that land should become Christians, to go with more zeal and to report on the land so that a decision might promptly be reached to send the necessary aid for the protection of the fathers who had remained there and for the preaching of the Holy Gospel in order that so many idolatrous souls should not be lost, but on the contrary be brought to the true knowledge before they, as idolatrous Indians, should attempt some evil deed to kill the fathers and hinder the penetration of the land.

Chapter XV. Concerning the events we experienced on our departure after having found the said discovery of mines, and the illness that befell our leader, on account of which it was necessary to halt on the way.

After the afore-mentioned had transpired we continued marching down the said river for over eighty leagues. God willed that our leader should be afflicted with an ailment which he had formerly had. He was ill on leaving the said settlement but became much worse due to traveling. On account of this it was necessary to stop at a place which we named Canutillo. We stayed four days at this place to see whether our leader felt any relief in order to proceed with our trip. We left that place, although the illness of our leader grew very much more serious due to the fatigue of the march. Since it was due to exhaustion from the trip it was decided to bleed him. As the equipment which had been brought, the lancet as well as the syringe, had been left with the fathers it was done as soldiers do in time of need when they draw blood with a horseshoe nail and apply the medicines by means of a horn. These two things were used on our leader and the soldiers who were ill.

Indeed we experienced much suffering, for with three or four men sick, out of eight soldiers, — nine with our leader — we had to watch every night and wear armor. Much hardship was endured, so much so that the illness of our leader became aggravated. As he was a man of over sixty or seventy years the ailment took firmer hold on him than on the others who were not so old. It was necessary to stop four days more at another place, which we named De

los Patos, to see whether he would grow better and the illness decline. Since it became no better, but on the contrary took firmer hold on him we urged him to commend himself to God and to make his last will before Hernán Gallegos, who was the notary of the expedition. He did as advised. Since the affliction was becoming so serious that his hands and feet were paralyzed, we decided to build a litter so that by means of two horses he could be taken quickly to the land of the Christians where the holy sacraments could be administered to him, which was of greatest concern. As we had no tools, because all had been left with the fathers that they might cut the timbers, we had to cut the lumber, consisting of timbers and poles for the said litter, with our swords. It was done as well as possible. However, to fasten the said litter it was necessary to kill a horse, because the hides which had been brought from the cattle were not sufficient for the litter. It was reinforced in the best manner possible. When it was finished the said leader was placed in it.

With this device we marched with great difficulty, for the horses were not used to that sort of work. They fell at times, which grieved us considerably. So if we had endured much suffering on our coming we were having much more hardship on our departure. We gave many thanks to God for such hardships that came to us through His will, for since He was giving them to us He also endowed us with patience and forbearance to withstand them. These hardships were experienced due to our small number, because out of nine men three or four were ill and indisposed. Furthermore, we had to keep vigil every night as we had done up to that time. Moreover, the Indian servants that we had taken along had remained at the settlement with the fathers.

After having traveled most of the way and the most difficult part God willed that when we were now out of the land near the land of the Christians, thirty leagues from Santa Bárbola, the said leader should die. He was buried in the most manner possible in a designated place, on a route and place that had to be crossed to go to the said settlement, so that when the occasion arrived his remains might be taken to the land of the Christians. God only knows the depression, grief and pity that we all experienced to see him die in such a remote and desolate land, without spiritual or temporal comfort. But as these are things willed and directed by the hand of God our Lord we gave many thanks to Him because He had been pleased to call away from us the leader who had been in our company for one year, who had traveled so much in our party and who at the least expected moment left us disconsolate.

Chapter XVI . Concerning the reception given to us at Santa Bárbola, what transpired between its inhabitants and ourselves and how they tried to arrest us because we did not take possession for the *gobernación* of Francisco and Diego de Ibarra.

After burying our said leader we decided to reach Christian territory without delay. Proceeding on our march we came to Santa Bárbola, from which we had set out on this expedition, on the fifteenth of April, a noted day as is was Easter day. We were well received at this town, as our return was much desired, for they thought we were dead. We fired our salvo for the said town with our *harquebuses*. After firing the salvo the *escribano real* who was present gave us, at the petition of Hernán Gallegos, testimony of the day, month and year on which we reached the said mines and town of Santa Bárbola, [stating] that we were armed and our horses also, and that we were returning from serving God and the king at our cost and support.

After giving this certificate the settlers and authorities of Santa Bárbola, seeing that the discovery had been carried out by commission from New Spain, decided to give orders to have us arrested and to seize the documents concerning the expedition that were brought by Hernán Gallegos and have [the new land] taken for the *gobernación* of Diego de Ibarra that he might learn of the said discovery. Hernán Gallegos, *escribano* of the said expedition, saw that it was not proper to do such a thing but on the contrary to report to the viceroy of New Spain by whose commission the said land and people had been penetrated and discovered, and to give him an account of this discovery, as loyal vassals of his majesty. When the said Hernán Gallegos noticed that the people and authorities of Santa Bárbola had planned very carefully to take the documents from him, and when the captain of Santa Bárbola saw our determination and that of the discoverers he ordered the said Hernán Gallegos, as the *escribano* of the said expedition, to write the said accounts before him, stating where the said explorers and leader had entered to discover and what had been discovered, accomplished and examined on that expedition. Hernán Gallegos replied to this that in regard to the discovery he did not even have authority to ask him for a report concerning the said trip; that they had entered and explored by commission from New Spain; that if they had done wrong and they did not show them in what manner they would be punished by his excellency the viceroy of New Spain to whom we would all submit as was our duty; and that he questioned his authority to command the aforesaid.

In spite of all this the said captain ordered the said Hernán Gallegos to write the report under threat of punishment. To get away from the said captain and magistrate Hernán Gallegos answered that he would bring them to him. Then during the early morning of the next day, the day following Easter, we left the jurisdiction of Santa Bárbola, on our way to Mexico to report on the said discovery to his excellency. We were three companions, Pedro de Bustamente, Hernán Gallegos and Pedro Sánchez de Chaves. [We took along] all the documents concerning the said expedition. [It was decided] that the other comrades should remain at the said town of Santa Bárbola to defend the entrance of the land we had discovered. Wherefore we came to report to his excellency by whose commission possession had been taken of that land, in order that his excellency might provide the proper relief and authority, and might also command that until other provisions were made by his excellency, no captain or magistrate of any place whatsoever might enter the land except by his authority. This was done at once and royal decrees were dispatched in due form to the *gobernaciones* of Francisco and Diego de Ibarra, Carvajal and the others.

Upon their departure the three above-mentioned companions reached the valley of San Juan, eleven leagues from the mines of Sombrerete, at the quarters of the general of Zacatecas, Rodrigo del Rio de Lossa. Here it was necessary for one of the companions, Pedro Sánchez de Chaves, to go back with certain reports to the mines of Santa Bárbola where the said companions had remained. Then the other two, Pedro de Bustamente and Hernán Gallegos, took leave of him and left for Mexico city where they intended to arrive and report to his excellency concerning the said discovery.

Proceeding onward they arrived in Mexico city on the eighth day of the month of May in the year fifteen hundred and eighty-two. They appeared before his excellency to give him an account of the said expedition and to explain how and what had been done. They brought and placed before him samples of what there was in the land, such as clothing, meat of the cattle, salt from the salines, metals from the mines which had been discovered and which exist in the land. Some of them assayed at twenty *marcos* per hundred weight of ore. We presented also the *chicubites* in which they eat and the crockery which they make at the said settlement, which is like that of New Spain. We were well received. We brought great joy and happiness to this city of Mexico, and especially to his excellency the viceroy of New Spain for having carried out in such a short time and during his administration an enterprise like the present one in which his majesty and his vassals have spent quantities of

money in search of this discovery, but without success. Now nine men had dared to go among such a large number of people in the inhabited area and to penetrate the uninhabited land and to have discovered what they had. This was the report they gave. Where five hundred men had failed to discover or explore the eight men had succeeded at their own cost and expense, without receiving any support or help from his majesty or any other person.¹²⁰ This brought great relief and enthusiasm to many people in New Spain.

Hernán Gallegos, one of the explorers and the *escribano* of the expedition and discovery, decided to write this relation with the chapters and explanations here contained. He wrote it and had it copied on the eighth day of the month of July in the year of our Lord fifteen hundred and eighty-two.

The above relation was copied, corrected and compared with the one found in the said book from folio thirty-one to seventy-eight at the instance of Señor Doctor Quesada, fiscal of his majesty in his royal audiencia and chancellery in this city of Mexico, on the twelfth day of the month of May in the year sixteen hundred and two. In certification of which I attach my signature so that it may have the legal power desired. Its correction was witnessed by Lorenzo de Burgos and Juan Martínez de Aranda, residents of this City.

Signed,

JOAN DE ARANDA.

(There is a rubric)

120. These references to a numerous and expensive expedition are to the Coronado entrada of 1540.

THE FIRST IRRIGATION LAWSUIT

In the valley of the Nile, of the Euphrates and of other ancient streams where irrigation was practiced for thousands of years before the Christian era, there were undoubtedly disputes over the use of the water. Whether the quarrels led to killings as in the Western States of North America, whether codes were enacted for filing on waters and courts were invoked to interpret them, is however, a matter for speculation. At least I am not aware that any record of such cases has come down the ages. And when I speak of the first irrigation case I mean the first case involving ancient waterrights that was brought to the attention of a court in territory of the United States.

When the common law followed the American arms into that vast section of the continent that was ceded to the United States by the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848 it encountered two divisions of the civil law of Mexico which did not yield to its superior force. These two divisions of law were the Community Property Law and the conception of Waterrights by Appropriation, as opposed to the English system of Tenure by the Entirety and Riparian Rights in Water. Because of the nature of the country, its lack of rainfall, the necessity of conducting water from streams considerable distances in order to irrigate farm lands and thus raise the necessities of life in the way of food, the invaders were quick to recognize the necessity of retaining this law of water appropriation, and so it was retained, in its native purity in some states and modified into a hybrid in others. Presently long and learned discourses were gathered into treatises or textbooks explaining its origin, its uses and its genius. To-day it has been elaborated by many decisions, even those of the highest tribunal of the land.

A search of the decisions of the Supreme Court of

California discloses the fact that the first cases involving waters had to do with water for mining purposes. The first case involving disputes over waters for irrigation appears to have been *Crandall vs Woods* 8 Cal. 136 which was decided in 1857. That fact that this case does not quote a single other decision involving irrigation would indicate that there were none. No other Western States were organized prior to 1855, and it was in this year that the great litigation between the Indian Pueblo of Ácoma and the Indian Pueblo of Laguna in the Territory of New Mexico was commenced as cause No. 1 on the civil docket of the District Court of the Territory of New Mexico for the Third Judicial District within the County of Valencia. The musty documents in the office of W. D. Newcomb, the present clerk of the court, disclose that the suit was hard fought, that every trick of the trade was put in use and that not until 1857 was a settlement reached which disposed of the dispute by an agreement between the parties.

It appears from the files that the water-right in dispute was centuries old, and had been a matter of bitter feeling between the two pueblos for two hundred years or more. The few lawyers that were then practicing in the wake of the victorious armies were venturesome barristers and occupied the very outposts of the common law, its practice and procedure. In the rigid formalities of that system they had been trained and it is therefore interesting to note the skill with which they adapted these forms to the enforcement of a right not known to the common law system.

The "solicitor" for the plaintiff was Spruce M. Baird, who was later to be one of the attorney generals of the territory and who defended Major Weightman after his famous duel with Francis Aubrey. At that time the presiding judge of the district was Kirby Benedict, one of the most picturesque judges who ever sat on the bench in the United States and whose opinions, which are to be found in the New Mexico reports, are truly gems of brilliancy. His famous death sentence on José María Martín has been

often published.¹ Mr. Baird's pleading was entitled "Bill to Quiet Title etc.," a remedy used for the purpose of determining title to land but well adapted to the purpose in hand; and since then water rights have been held to be a specie of real estate.

Here are the important features of the bill:

(interlineations, insertions and erasures as in the original)
"The petition of the Pueblo of Ácoma by their governor José Lovato complaining of the Pueblo of Laguna showeth, that upwards of two hundred years past the Pueblo of Siamá (alias Sia)² was established by the kingdom of Spain on the creek or stream known as the Galla, being the same which runs from the Ojo del Galla by the ruins of the said Pueblo, the Pueblo of Laguna (after passing which taking the name of the Rita) and enters the Rio Puerco in front of the Pueblo of Isleta. The boundaries of the said Pueblo of Sia were designated as set forth in Exhibit "A" known as follows to wit, as in Exhibit "A", and complainant asserts that the Pueblo of Ácoma and its inhabitants are the successors and descendants of the Pueblo of Sia and have succeeded to and inherited all and singular the rights of property which formerly pertained to the Ancient Pueblo of Sia.

The said Pueblo of Sia as your petitioner is advised and believes was located on the said stream with a view to the use and enjoyment of the water of the same as far as they should need it: But afterwards, but at what precise time your petitioner is unable to state, the Pueblo of Laguna was established immediately below and adjoining the more ancient Pueblo of Sia on the same stream with a view to the enjoyment and use of the surplus water of the said stream after the wants and necessities of the Pueblo of Sia should be supplied.

1. *Old Santa Fe*, I, 83.

2. Seama (Tsiama) is today one of the villages of the Laguna Indians. In the record of this suit it appears to be confused with the old pueblo of Cia (Zia, Tsia) lying northeast on the Jemez River—Ed.

But so it is, may it please your Honor, as your petitioner is advised and believes, the said Pueblo of Laguna disregarding the superior claim of your petitioner to said waters and fraudulently intending to cheat and defraud the said Pueblo of Sia of the use of the water which had been granted to her commenced setting up various fictitious and fraudulent claims to the said water and the lands of the Pueblo of Sia. sometimes pretending that they were equally entitled to the water of said stream, and at other times that they were exclusively entitled to the same, and thus continued to harrass and annoy the people of Sia until, the former growing in strength while the latter was stationary by reason of the prejudice and damage done them by the former, they made war upon the Ancient Pueblo of Sia, the ruins of which still remain, and forced the people thereof to remove from the same to a more secure position and establish the present Pueblo of Ácoma, remote from any running water on a barren rock, some three or four hundred feet high, inaccessible but at two points for footmen and at but one for horsemen and at no point for wheeled carriages. And in consequence of the original and continued harrassments—destroying and confounding the ancient landmarks between the two pueblos—appropriating the same to their own use and to break and destroy the tanks and ditches of your petitioners especially in the season of irrigation and to inflict upon them—damages—such as can not be recompensed—Wherefore the premises being considered in as much as your petitioner is without remedy at law and for the purpose of forever settling all questions between themselves and the Pueblo of Laguna touching the boundaries of their lands and the water of said stream as well as to avoid the multiplicity of suits that must necessarily grow out of said questions if not settled in a court of chancery—” here followed the commensurate prayer for an injunction.

In order to impress the court with the fact that the multiplicity of suits was real and not imaginary, the resourceful lawyer at once started thirteen separate suits in trespass against members of the Laguna tribe and against

the Rev. Samuel Gorman who was the Baptist minister of the Laguna mission. Gorman had played a prominent part in the negotiations which preceded this suit both before the Indian Agency at Santa Fé and Governor Meriwether of the Territory. These negotiations led to a temporary truce during the summer of 1854, but with the approach of the irrigating season of 1855 the trouble broke out anew.

I. S. Watts was the solicitor for the defendant and he filed a lengthy answer in which he set up for the Pueblo of Laguna an earlier title to the water from the same source but three days earlier in time, and plead non-user and abandonment of its water-rights, a doctrine since become firmly established in Irrigation Law. He disputed the allegation that Laguna had made war on Sia and asserted that in 1689 the people of Laguna had numbered only eight families and could not have made war on the "strong and powerful" people of Ácoma, who, he suggested had gone to the inaccessible rock not for safety but for the purpose of using it, in the manner of the robber barons, as a stronghold from which to send expeditions for the oppression of other tribes and to levy tribute upon them. The defendant's pleader was a bit inconsistent in his argument, and after asserting an independent and prior right he alleged that by reason of the abandonment by Ácoma and the user by Laguna the latter had secured a right "in common with" the Ácoma people.

The case came to trial the 10th day of June, 1857, after evidence had been taken by a commission appointed for that purpose. This evidence consisted of oral statements by witnesses as to what their grandfathers and great-grandfathers had told them. The case of both Ácoma and Laguna rested mainly on ancient documents dated "At the town of our Lady of Guadalupe of El Paso of the Rio del Norte" which were in the nature of a deposition to perpetuate testimony. In these documents an Indian named Bartolomé de Ojedas, who could read and write, and who had been wounded, and taken prisoner and who was about to die, declared that he had been in charge of the waters

of the Indians at Ácoma, that he was a resident of Sia and knew all about the water rights between the two Pueblos. The first of these documents is dated February 20th, 1689, and the second one February 28th, of the same year. Both were written down and certified to by the Governor and Captain-General of the Province of New Mexico Don Domingo Jironza Petroz de Cruzate in presence of Don Pedro Ladrande de Guimara, Secretary of Government and War, and the signature of the Indian was duly signed thereto. The depositions are in the handwriting of the secretary and leave no doubt that the water belonged to Ácoma and that Laguna was entitled only to the "sobres" or surplus. At the time this old testimony was taken down before Governor Cruzate the latter had just returned from a punitive expedition to Sia Pueblo³ where he had made an example of the natives for the benefit of the other Pueblos. Evidently while on this expedition the two quarrelling pueblos of Laguna and Ácoma had taken their troubles to him and thus it came that he examined this witness to find out "how it stood between the Pueblos of Ácoma and Laguna regarding the water of the Gallo."

The lawsuit came to an end on July 6th, 1857, when the attorneys for both sides entered and filed in the court a memorandum which determined the controversy in favor of Ácoma because it awarded to Ácoma all the irrigable lands down to the Cañada de La Cruz, on the Gallo or Cock Creek, thus preventing the use of its waters by the Lagunas except as to the surplus waters which might run below that point.

But the settlement appears now to have been forgotten and the age-old controversy was again going on in the year 1917 when the undersigned was United States Attorney for the Pueblo Indians and used to sympathise with the more progressive Lagunas, not at that time knowing or being informed of what the old court records in Valencia County might and did contain.

EDWARD D. TITTMANN

3. This was the pueblo on the Jemez River.—Ed.

THE DEATH OF JACQUES D'EGLISE

A paper recently published under the title "Jacques D'Eglise on the Upper Missouri, 1791-1795" is of greater interest because of the picture it gives of the development of French trade in that vast frontier region than because of the discovery by D'Eglise of the Mandan tribe. About the year 1750 there were nine villages of these Indians living near the mouth of the Heart River, but long before D'Eglise first visited them they had been greatly reduced in number by smallpox and by attacks of the Assiniboin and the Dakota. In 1776 the survivors had moved up the Missouri River and were living in only two villages near the mouth of the Knife River in the Arikara country.² The report by D'Eglise, after his journey in the fall of 1790, that he had found eight Mandan villages would seem, therefore, to have been an exaggeration intended to impress the Spanish officials in St. Louis and New Orleans.

More intriguing than this reaching out for the trade of a frontier tribe is the fact brought out by Mr. Nasatir that the Spanish authorities in the Mississippi valley, some ten years before the Lewis and Clark Expedition, had their eyes on the Pacific and that Carondelet in 1795 or shortly before had offered a prize of three thousand dollars to the first man who should succeed in reaching the Pacific by way of the Missouri River.³

Spanish claims to the regions north and east of New Mexico, based on discovery, exploration, and trade and treaty relations between the Spaniards of New Mexico and the various plains tribes conflicted with similar French claims from the east—until after 1763 when, by the "Family Compact," Louisiana was ceded to Spain. From 1763 to

1. By Abraham P. Nasatir in *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, xiv, 47-56.

2. Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians*, "Mandans."

3. See documents given by Nasatir, *Miss. Val. Hist. Rev.*, xiv, 57-71.

1801, when Louisiana was retroceded by Spain to France, the whole country from the Mississippi River to the Pacific was Spanish and (except with England on the north) there was no boundary question other than those between Louisiana, Texas, New Mexico and California as Spanish Provinces. Of course with the sale of Louisiana by France to the United States in 1803 national boundaries in this region immediately became vital again.

The activities of the Frenchman Jacques D'Eglise as presented by Mr. Nasatir fall almost wholly within the Spanish period, 1763-1801. Beyond 1795, the author says, "Nothing further has come to light concerning Jacques D'Eglise, and we do not know whether the journey [to the Pacific] was ever made by him. It is known, however, that he subsequently engaged in trade on the Upper Missouri, and in company with Lorenzo Deroche ascended the Missouri, probably in 1804, with the idea of finding the shortest route to New Mexico. Casa Calvo, who gives us this information, also states: 'The latter [D'Eglise] was employed by the company of the Exploration of the Misury, and since he has not returned this year it is inferred that he has penetrated into Nuevo Mexico.'

"We know as little of D'Eglise's later life as of his early career. 'Without documents there is no history.' Hence our story of the 'Discovery of the Mandan' must pause here until further search of the Spanish and other archives shall shed more light upon the subject."

The Spanish archives in Santa Fe show that the inference of Casa Calvo was correct.

"Lorenzo Durocher" was in Santa Fe early in 1805, as appears from the blotter of a communication dated May 22 of that year from Governor Alencaster to the commandant general in Chihuahua.⁴ Durocher, or Deroche, desired to return to his own country and Alencaster asked for explicit authority to incur the expenses of sending him to Chihuahua, of his subsistence in that city and of send-

4. *Spanish Archives of New Mexico*, no. 1834(2). Document no. 1, *infra*

ing him home from there with an adequate escort and horses. A notation on the blotter indicates that there had been earlier correspondence on the same subject. The reply of Salcedo, dated June 5, is not in the archives, but Durocher was enabled to present himself to Salcedo in Chihuahua about two months later, in company with Juan Bautista Lalande,⁵ another Frenchman from "Ylinois."⁶ Apparently their first request through Alencaster was that they be allowed to return home by way of Texas, but when they presented themselves before Salcedo in Chihuahua they were asking (possibly as a matter of policy) that they be allowed "to continue subjects of the Spanish government" with residence in New Mexico.⁷ When Salcedo sent them back to Santa Fe in September he expressed approval of their request and covered their expenses in a consignment of effects which were to be used in binding the friendship of "the Indian Nations inhabiting the banks of the Missouri River from its confluence with the Chato westwards."⁸

In October, following their return, Durocher and Lalande accompanied the "Indian interpreters" Pedro Vial and Josef Jarvet,⁹ upon a journey which the latter undertook to visit the Pawnees. Vial and Jarvet, and a carbineer who was in the party, reported to Governor Alencaster that Durocher and Lalande, especially the former, had repeatedly made invidious comparisons between the Spanish and American governments in the matter of monthly pay

5. Jean Baptiste Lalande, or Juan Bautista Lalanda as the Spaniards called him, was a creole trader who was sent out in 1805 by William Morrison of Kaskaskia, under instructions to carry his goods to Santa Fe and attempt to establish commercial relations. Lalande has been pilloried in history by Pike and Bancroft as an absconder (*Bancroft's Works*, xvii, 291-5), whereas the truth seems to be that the Spanish authorities knew he wanted to return to his own country but they prevented him doing so. See document no. 4, *infra*.

6. Upper Louisiana, later Missouri, at this time was still known as "Spanish Illinois;" and St. Louis was "San Luis de lo Illinuces."

7. *Sp. Archs of N. M.*, no. 1888. Document no. 2, *infra*.

8. *Ibid.*, no. 1889. Document no. 3, *infra*.

9. Vial and Jarvet were both Frenchmen, not naturalized though in Spanish employ at Santa Fe. Both appear frequently in the archives, the latter often misspelled as *Chalvet*, *Chalvert*, and even *Calvert*. Vial did important work in exploring routes to San Antonio, Bejar, Natchitoches, and St. Louis.

and expense allowance to interpreters. Writing to Salcedo on January 4, 1806, Alencaster again reported that the two Frenchmen, as well as "two other Frenchmen" and an American who had entered New Mexico some time before with two Cuampes chiefs,¹⁰ desired an opportunity to return to their own country but that he would not allow it, in view of the above conduct and the possible injury which might result from the knowledge which they had acquired of the Province, without an express order to this effect from Salcedo.¹¹

Whether Durocher separated from Jacques D'Eglise on the upper Missouri late in 1804 or they entered New Mexico together and then separated, is not clear from the archives now extant in Santa Fe. Durocher apparently was acting independently in the "memorial" submitted to Alencaster early in 1805; on the journey to Chihuahua he was thrown with Lalande and they two stayed together at least until late in that year. At no time in the present records does D'Eglise appear until late in 1806.¹²

On November 20, 1806, Alencaster forwarded to the royal audiencia in Guadalajara "the criminal suit drawn up against Antonio Carabajal and Mariano Venavides by the *alcalde ordinario* of the Villa de la Cañada in this Province of New Mexico for having assassinated as they had conspired (to do) the Frenchman Santiago Iglis." The crime would be found so fully proven in the papers sent and it had been so horrible that it would be most useful in the Province that the punishment be prompt and exemplary, as this would necessarily make a profound impression on the minds of the other inhabitants who were unaccustomed

10. The Cuampes were a division of the Faraon Apaches; their range probably was between the Rio Grande and the Pecos River, southeast of Santa Fe.

11. *Sp. Archs. of N. M.*, no. 1942 (1). Document no. 4, *infra*. On August 16, 1806, Durocher had a passport from Santa Fe to Chihuahua; and on August 31 he was at El Paso with "the Anglo-American carpenter, Dimas Proseel" (James Pursley), both *en route* to that city. These are the last references to Durocher.

12. He was not either of "the two other Frenchmen" mentioned in document no. 4. These are nowhere named, but they are identified with references in archives subsequent to the death of D'Eglise.

to seeing capital punishment inflicted. The suit was not being forwarded to Durango or elsewhere since experience had shown that it would never be returned with the judgment asked for.¹³

The wording of Alencaster's communication would suggest that the murder of D'Eglise had occurred only shortly before, but the exact date and the details of the crime are not shown. And despite the urgency of Alencaster's representations, nearly three years passed before punishment was meted out to the criminals. On July 23, 1809, Governor Alencaster advised the Rev. Father Fray José Benito Pereyro that the *alcalde mayor* of Cañada¹⁴ had been directed to execute the sentence of death passed by "the Most Powerful Supreme Tribunal of the Royal Audiencia of Guadalajara" upon the criminals Antonio Carabajal and Mariano Venavides for the perfidious murder perpetrated on the person of the "Frenchman transient in this Province, Santiago Iglis;" and as it was necessary to inform the said criminals of the said sentence on the 27th so that from that day they might "begin to prepare themselves to suffer death in a Christian manner with the most pious and proper object of directing their souls to Heaven, as the Laws and our Holy and Catholic Religion provide," he requested the custodio to have whatever number of the Religious he thought fitting, come to Santa Fe to aid and assist the chaplain Fray Francisco de Hocio in so important a matter until its conclusion, in which act he, the custodio, would be accrediting his characteristic religiousness and the zeal so appropriate to his office.¹⁵

The *alcalde* performed the task assigned to him, going to the jail in which the criminals were confined and, in the presence of two witnesses, informing them of the sentence of the tribunal. They expressed their submission and in token thereof each laid the official paper upon his

13. *Sp. Archs. of N. M.*, no. 2029 (3). Document no. 5, *infra*.

14. La Villa Nueva de la Cañada de Santa Cruz; known today as Santa Cruz, 24 miles north of Santa Fe.

15. *Sp. Archs. of N. M.*, no. 2238.

head. They were then turned over to the spiritual ministrations of four Religious.¹⁶

How much time was allowed them to prepare their souls for death is not clear, but on August 4th the alcalde, with the same two witnesses, signed his formal report that at 7:45 o'clock of the day designated he had had them shot and their bodies hanged on the royal road, as required and for the length of time he deemed fitting to make them an example, after which they were delivered for ecclesiastical burial.¹⁷ Alencaster reported the execution to Salcedo, and the latter made brief acknowledgement on September 23, 1809.¹⁸

Very possibly the archives at Chihuahua and Guadalajara would supply answers regarding many details in the last two years of the life of Jacques D'Eglise, but the evidence is conclusive that he did enter New Mexico and that he suffered a violent death within a few miles of Santa Fe. At least a dozen other French adventurers entered New Mexico during these five years¹⁹ and to the Spanish authorities D'Eglise was only a transient French fur-trader, also his earlier record suggests that he may not have been entirely innocent of provocation to the crime; but if so, the punishment of his murderers was all the more creditable to Spanish law and order in New Mexico.

LANSING B. BLOOM

NO. 1: ALENCASTER TO SALCEDO, MAY 22, 1805.

Reply to no. 7 [Alencaster's notation]

I send you the accompanying Memorial of Lorenzo Durocher who, as I have made him understand, must ask you ultimately

16. *Ibid.*, no 2242. Document no. 6, *infra*.

17. *Ibid.* Document no. 7, *infra*.

18. *Ibid.*, no. 2254 (2). Document no. 8, *infra*.

19. From 1805 to 1809, besides Durocher and Lalande, these included Juan Bautista la Casa, Dionicio Lacroix and Andres Ferieu from Louisiana; Andres Sulier and Enrique Visonot from St. Louis; Santiago Claimorgan "and three others;" and the "two other Frenchmen" from Louisiana.

(*categoricamente*) for the money which he needs in order to go to Chihuahua, to subsist in that city and to proceed to his own Country with adequate escort, I have not been able to procure (it) I explained to him, (after) assuring him that for his journey to present himself before Your Honor he would be furnished Escort and Horses. I see myself under the necessity of directing to you the accompanying Memorial that you may determine what may suit your pleasure.

God (etc.) Santa Fee 22 May 1805

(to) the Commandant General
of the Internal Provinces.

(forwarding memorial of French-
man Lorenzo Durocher)

(answered June 5 with
secret order)

NO. 2: SALCEDO TO ALENCASER, SEPTEMBER 9, 1805.

Bearing your paper no. 54 of August 9th ult., appeared in this city the citizens of Ylinois Juan Bautista Lalanda, and Lorenzo Durocher whom you sent hither in compliance with my orders so to do; and having listened to them regarding the reasons which brought them to that Province and the intentions which they have of establishing themselves there, I have instructed them to return and arrange with you in this matter, since, in conformity with the Royal decisions, I have authorized you to hear, consider, and decide all cases of like nature which may occur of inhabitants of said places in Ylinois who, without violating the constitution, may ask to continue subjects of the Spanish Government within the limits of that Province.

With this understanding they are both returning thither, and without questioning that the opinion may be well founded which you have formed regarding their honor and the truth of their statements and purposes I charge you to have them under observation, (and they have been) advised that for their journey I have ordered that the necessary aid be supplied them.

God guard you many years. Chihuahua, 9 September 1805.

Nemesio Salcedo

(rubic)

(to) the Governor of N. Mexico.

NO. 3: SALCEDO TO ALENCASER, SEPTEMBER 12, 1805.

One of the directions which I have given you in the order of

the 9th of the current (month) in order to win and strengthen the friendship of the Indian Nations which inhabit the banks of the Misuri River from its confluence with the Chato westwards is that of trying to court the persons of those (nations) who may visit that Capital and even, if it may seem to you opportune, of sending to the Chiefs at their own places of abode a moderate gift; with which in mind and being aware that the amount which that Government may have of articles intended for gifts to the other bands may not suffice to cover this attention, I have resolved that the Sergeant of Militia Nicolas Ortiz shall transport and deliver to you the Effects which appear on the enclosed list (*Factura*), to the total value of 460 *pesos* seven *reales* including the 50 *pesos* furnished the travelers Lorenzo Durocher and Juan Baptista Lalanda, it has been supplied by the treasury of this city, upon order from me to this end: all of which will serve for your governance.

God guard you many years. Chihuahua 12 September 1805.

Nemesio Salcedo
(rubric)

(to) the Governor of Nuevo Mexico.

NO. 4: ALENCASTER TO SALCEDO, JANUARY 4, 1806.

Notwithstanding the good reports which I have given you regarding the good conduct of the Frenchmen Durocher and Lalanda, it seems to me proper to inform you of what has been reported to me by the Carbineer Juan Lucero, Don Pedro Vial and Josef Jarbet to have occurred on the journey to the Pawnees which they undertook in October.

Lucero says that he noticed repeated conversations between said Frenchmen and Don Pedro Vial, and understanding something (of their talk) he questioned Don Pedro repeatedly who explained to him that said Frenchmen were arguing that never could this Province make gratuities to the (Indian) Nations as (could) the Americans who had a greater supply of gifts, better, and that (the Indians) would always like the friendship of those (Americans) and would prefer them to us; and that Don Pedro maintained the opposite. That to Jarbet the said Frenchmen would say that the pay of ten pesos which they were giving him was very small; that the Americans were paying Interpreters 25 pesos a month, and that when they were traveling with the Nations or were coming with some Captains (chiefs) they were supplied with one peso a day, but that Jarbet always said that he preferred to be here with small pay to serve in Spain and that he was hoping they would reward

his merit by increasing his pay, but that always the Frenchmen were insisting on this kind of arguments especially Durocher, and as this did not look good to him he believed it proper to inform me of it.

In similar terms Vial and Jarbet explained themselves, telling me about said disputes and conversations stating to me that it had not looked well to them that, after having been well received and well treated in this Province, the said Durocher and Lalande should so express themselves.

These persons are desirous of a chance to return to their Country, and although Your Honor has approved it, it seems to me proper to call your attention to this point so that you may decide whether both they as well as the other two Frenchmen and the American who came in with the Cuampes shall be permitted to do so, since it occurs to me that some injury might be occasioned by them and the knowledge which they have acquired of this Province, and consequently even though an opportunity (for their return) present itself, I shall not allow them to depart without an express order from Your Honor.

God (etc.) Santa Fee 4 January 1806—J. R. A.—(to) Com.
Gen'l of the Int. Provs.

(notation: treats of the departure of the French citizens
of Louisiana from this Province.)

NO. 5: ALENCASTER TO THE AUDIENCIA OF GUADALAJARA,
NOVEMBER 20, 1806.

I am sending to Your Audiencia the Criminal Suit prepared against Antonio Carabajal and Mariano Venavides by the *Alcalde ordinario* of the Villa de la Cañada in this Province of New Mexico for having assassinated as they had conspired (to do) the Frenchman Santiago Iglis, so that Your Audiencia may order the corresponding sentence of capital punishment to be affixed by the Counsellor whom you may select, or that Your Audiencia may decide what seems proper.

In it (the suit) the crime is found so fully proven and it is so horrible that it will be most useful in this Province that the punishment be prompt and exemplary, as this will necessarily impress the minds of the other inhabitants who are unaccustomed to seeing the infliction of capital punishment.

This Suit is not being directed to Durango or other point since abundant antecedents have shown that it would never be returned with the judgment asked for.

God guard Your Audiencia many years. Santa Fee, 20 November 1806.—J. R. A. —Señores of the Royal Audiencia of Guadalajara.

No. 6: MANUEL GARCIA DE LA MORA, RETURN OF WRIT,
(JULY 27, 1809?)

I, Don Manuel Garcia de la Mora, *alcalde mayor* of the Villa of Santa Cruz de la Cañada, went to the jail where the two said criminals are confined, Antonio Caravajal and Mariano Benavides, and they being present and with the attendance of two witnesses, I notified them and gave them to know the Sentence pronounced in the royal Writ which precedes, and they, being informed of it, said they would, and did, submit, each placing the (Writ) upon his head; and for evidence I have put it in a "return of writ" (*diligencia*,) and I delivered them to the Examination of four Religious, and I sign it with the said witnesses on said day month and year, of which I give faith.

Manuel Garcia
(rubric)

Antonio Tugillo (Trujillo?)
witness
José de la Peña
witness

No. 7: MANUEL GARCIA DE LA MORA, SAME ARCHIVE,
AUGUST 4, 1809.

Villa of Santa Fee, 4 August 1809.

I the said *Alcalde mayor* Don Manuel Garcia de la Mora, in fulfillment of what I am ordered in the Royal Writ committed to me by the Supreme tribunal of the Royal Audiencia of Guadalajara, had the said criminals Antonio Carabajal and Mariano Benavides shot (*hizo alcubuscar*), at seven and three-quarters of the day named, and I had their bodies hanged on the highway (*en el camino real*) as required of me, for the length of time which seemed to me fitting to make of them an Example, and afterwards I delivered them to Mercy, that they might be given ecclesiastical burial; and in evidence I have signed it with the two witnesses attending in the capacity conferred upon me of which I give faith.

Manuel Garcia
(rubric)

Antonio Tugillo
witness
José de la Peña
witness

No. 8: SALCEDO TO ALENCASTER, SEPTEMBER 23, 1809.

ESTÁ bien lo praticado por V. M. en cumplimiento de Sentencia pronunciada por el Tribunal de Guadalajara á los Reos, Carabajal y Benavides, de que me da conocimiento con el numero 170.

DIOS guarde á V. M. muchos años. Chihuahua 23 de Setiembre 1809.

Nemesio Salcedo
(rubricado)

Sr. Gov'or Ynt'o del Nuevo Mexico.

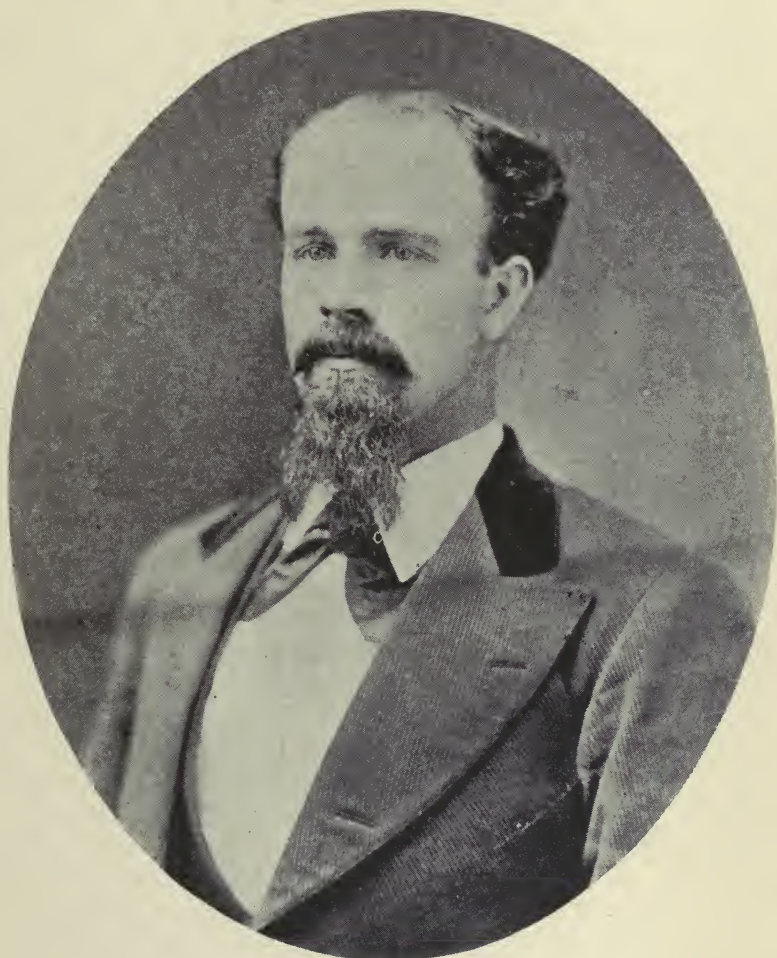
SANTA FE IN THE '70S

[From Mr. John P. Clum, now over seventy-six years of age and residing on his orange grove in San Dimas, California, come the following reminiscences of Santa Fe in the '70s. His account of the opening of the U. S. Weather Bureau and of the first school conducted entirely in English are of especial interest. —Editors]

In the fall of 1871 I was due back at Rutgers College, Brunswick, New Jersey, for my sophomore year, but finding myself "financially embarrassed" I set about looking for a job. The War Department had decided to establish fifty stations within the territory of the United States for the purpose of taking and recording meteorological observations. This was the beginning of what is now the Weather Bureau. This work was assigned to the Signal Service arm of the department, and an order was issued for the enlistment of fifty men with the rank of sergeant, to be known as "Observer Sergeants." As far as I know this is the only body of men ever enlisted in our army as non-commissioned officers.

I applied at the office of the Chief Signal Officer at Washington, D. C. He informed me I should be endorsed by a congressman. I did not know any. However, I was examined and ordered to report to Fort Whipple (now Fort Myer) at Arlington, Va. The date of my enlistment was September 14, 1871, - just two weeks after my 20th birthday. Each observer sergeant was supposed to take a three months' course in meteorology, signaling, etc., at Fort Whipple. I made the grade in six weeks and was ordered to Santa Fe, N. M.

One Saturday about the 1st of November I was advised of my assignment and that I should be ready to leave for my destination the following Monday. I had never been further west than Fort Whipple. I knew that Santa Fe was the capital of New Mexico; that it was somewhere



JOHN P. CLUM

in the midst of the fastnesses of what we called the "Rocky Mountains," hundreds of miles from a railroad, and at the end of the Santa Fe Trail. It seemed a long, long, long way off. I admit I was a bit nervous, but I felt a genuine thrill in the prospective adventure.

I entered the plains over the old Kansas-Pacific road. Herds of buffalo were to be seen from the car windows, and the picturesque buffalo hunters were posing at every station. I left the train at Kit Carson, Colorado, and embarked upon my maiden stage journey. All of the meteorological instruments for the new station at Santa Fe had been shipped by express — excepting my barometer, which I carried with great care to avoid injury or breakage. This instrument consisted of a slender glass tube about three feet long filled with mercury; the glass tube set in a metal case. The instrument was packed with cotton in a wooden case which was fitted with straps to swing over the shoulder.

The stage was a two-seated affair drawn by four mules, and when we pulled out of Kit Carson I was the sole passenger. It was Sunday morning. The sun was bright, but the road rough. With the strap over my shoulder I was holding the barometer in my arms. A sudden jolt might easily cause the mercury to shatter the glass tube, or, at least, to force an air bubble into the vacuum. My barometer must arrive in Santa Fe in perfect order; so I braced my feet against the front seat and persistently hugged that packing case all the long day as we bumped our weary way to Trinidad.

It was evening when we reached Trinidad. Here I transferred to the big Concord coach with six horses and a shot-gun messenger on the "box" with the driver. Within the coach was a Mexican with sarape and sombrero—smoking a "corn-shuck" cigarette. The odor seemed tremendously offensive to me. Suddenly a Winchester rifle was shoved into the coach followed by a stranger whose strong right hand gripped the deadly weapon. In the semi-

darkness he looked the part of a desperado or a bandit, but proved to be Chief Engineer Morley of the A. T. & S. F. Railway Co., who was then making a preliminary survey for the line via the Raton Pass.

Snow was falling when we left Trinidad and the storm increased as we advanced up the mountain grade. Shortly before midnight we halted at Dick Wootton's station for a change of horses. It would be dangerous to attempt to cross the summit in the night and the storm, so it was determined that we should remain at Wootton's ranch until daylight. In this decision I most heartily concurred. To pass a night with Dick Wootton in his own cabin in the Rocky Mountains! Dick Wootton, the famous scout and the friend of Kit Carson! Was I dreaming? The cabin fascinated me. It was a crude affair of adobes and boulders and timbers, rudely furnished and decorated in mountaineer fashion with skins and horns and heads — trophies of the chase and proof of the prowess of "Uncle Dick" as a hunter. A variety of fire-arms swung or rested on pegs and brackets about the walls. A fire of pine faggots roared within the ample fire-place and the leaping flames flashed reflections along the gleaming barrel of a Colt's forty-five six-shooter resting on a bear-skin flung over an old packing box which was serving as a side table. The "gun" was quite new with ivory handle and nickel plated. On the cylinder I read the following inscription: "Presented to Dick Wootton by his friend Kit Carson." Surely I was touching elbows with some of the most famous characters of the old frontier. It all seemed very wonderful to my youthful imagination as I stretched out in my blanket on that mountain cabin floor for a few hours rest from the fatigue of travel — and the persistent hugging of my precious barometer.

Finally the full length of that old Santa Fe Trail had been measured and we rolled up to the old plaza about midnight. I was deposited at the old Fonda. Tom McDonald was proprietor. Tom gave me a good bed and I was glad to make good use of it.

Johnson & Koch had their store in a two-story building facing west on the plaza at the corner of Palace Avenue. Mr. Johnson rented me quarters immediately in the rear of this store — two rooms, one above the other, facing north on Palace Avenue. Immediately to the east was a building in which Manderfield & Tucker published *THE NEW MEXICAN*.

A stairway at the rear of my quarters gave me access to the roof — which was flat. Several of my instruments were installed on this roof. My barometer, which I had fondled so affectionately throughout those days and nights of rough riding, had arrived in perfect condition and was conveniently installed in my office. All being in readiness, the taking and recording of meteorological observations began forthwith.

And thus it transpired that, on or about the 15th of November, 1871, the ancient and honorable pueblo of Santa Fe joined with forty-nine other stations in an undertaking that was destined to provide authentic and permanent records relative to atmospheric conditions throughout the United States.

Six observations were made and recorded daily at each station. Three of these observations were made simultaneously throughout the United States and the results forwarded immediately to the chief signal officer at Washington in the form of a cipher-telegram. If I remember correctly, the exact time for making these simultaneous observations at Santa Fe fell at 5:39 a. m.; 2:39 and 9:39 p. m. Mr. Gough (and I think his first name was Thomas) was the telegraph operator during all of the time I was stationed at Santa Fe.¹

Sometime during 1872 my station was inspected by Lieut. A. W. Greely (later Artic Explorer and now Major General in command of the Signal Corps). An episode of this inspection impressed a vivid picture on my memory — amusing to me, but somewhat humiliating to the lieuten-

1. Mr. Clum wrote later that he thought the name was "Joseph."

ant. He carried with him a special barometer with which to test the accuracy of the barometers in use at the various stations visited by him. When I hung his instrument beside mine preparatory to making the test I detected an air bubble in the column of mercury. When I asked the inspector how he had carried his instrument between the railroad and Santa Fe, he replied that he had "strapped it to one of the uprights in the frame of the coach." I remarked that his instrument appeared to be defective. He demurred. Then I pointed out the bubble of air. That settled it. Greely was vexed. "We must refill it," he said. "I lack the equipment," says I. "Your 'student lamp' will do," says he. I demurred. He insisted. Notwithstanding it was his barometer, I proceed with the refill under protest. I feared the tube would break. He was confident it would not. I put in an inch of the mercury and "boiled" it; then another inch with more boiling, but when I had added the third inch there was much "knocking" at the end of the tube. I hesitated. "Go ahead," directed the inspector. I added another inch and again inserted the tube in the lamp chimney. The mercury gave a sudden jump upward and came back with a kick that knocked the bottom out of the tube and let the mercury out on the floor. I suppose I laughed. Greely was mad. My barometer was never "tested" while I remained at Santa Fe.

Later I secured quarters on the opposite side of Palace Avenue and about a block further eastward in the "Sena Building." I think the owner's name was José Sena y Baca. These quarters included a large room on the second floor. This I fitted up with suitable seats and desks and forthwith started a PRIVATE SCHOOL. This, I believe, was the first school established in Santa Fe by an American and conducted entirely in the English language. It proved a fairly successful enterprise. I charged three dollars per month per pupil, and at one time I had 75 scholars on my rolls. I found it necessary to employ an assistant teacher. My pupils included a daughter and a

son of General Gregg, commander of the Department of New Mexico. These young people were about sixteen and fourteen years of age, respectively. A daughter of Col. Potter, paymaster. A son and daughter of Surveyor General Proudfit. Two daughters of a Mrs. Shaw — the elder about seventeen, and three well grown boys whose father was a native of Spain and well educated. These are all I can recall at this time — after a lapse of fifty-four years.

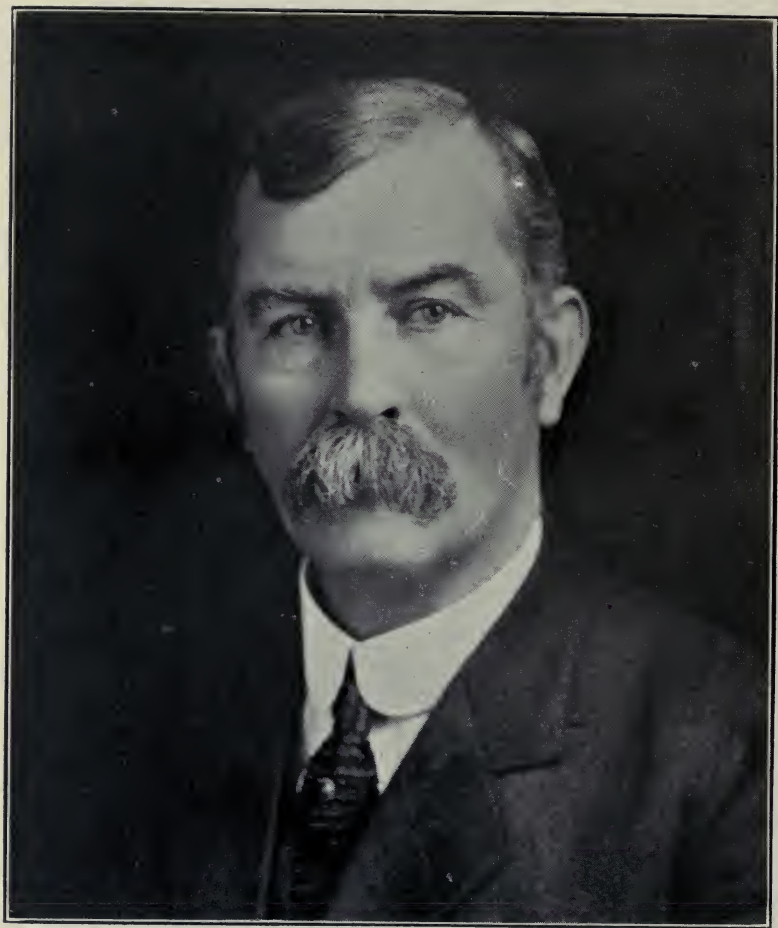
Prior to opening my school I had two other jobs to occupy my spare time. For a while I was a clerk in the office of General Smith, collector of internal revenue, and later I served for several months as night guard at the United States Depository — under Mr. E. W. Little. The Depository was then located in the southwest corner of the Governor's Palace.

And I must not fail to tell you that at one time, for a period of two or three months, I was the sole occupant of the quarters assigned to the chief executive of the territory in the Palace of the Governors, and during that period all of my friends took pains to address me as "GOVERNOR." As a matter of fact Hon. Marsh Giddings was the governor. He found it desirable for him to make a visit of two or three months to "the states" and requested me to take charge of his quarters in the Palace during his absence. And thus it transpired that I occupied the identical bedroom in which Gen. Lew Wallace later completed his marvelous story of Ben Hur.

During the early 70s there was a Presbyterian mission church at Santa Fe presided over by Dr. MacFarland. Notwithstanding my youth (and sins) I was made an "elder" in this church, and was elected as the delegate to represent the Presbyterian church of New Mexico at the Presbyterian General Assembly which met in Baltimore, Md., May, 1873. Again I was delegate to the Presbyterian General Assembly which met at St. Louis, Mo., in May,

1874. At Baltimore I was made a member of the judicial committee of the assembly, and by looking wise, listening much and saying little I managed to "get by" without inviting special attention to the fact that I "had seen only 22 summers." It may be mentioned, however, that I had a mustache and "chin whiskers" in order to give a more mature expression to my personal appearance.

At St. Louis I made a speech that swept me on to fame and confusion within the brief period of ten minutes. The session of the assembly was approaching adjournment and a rule had been passed limiting all speeches to FIVE MINUTES. I was asked to tell the assembly all about New Mexico, but the committee impressed upon me the necessity of condensing my material so as to conform to the FIVE MINUTE RULE. The church seated about 1500. A temporary platform brought the speaker well toward the center of the audience. The fatal moment arrived. The moderator announced my subject and my name. I stepped forward and faced that grand audience. It was a "grand" audience, for it included representatives from all parts of the world, - famous men and men of wisdom, presidents of colleges, eloquent preachers, noted attorneys, captains of industry, etc. With the delivery of my first sentences I felt that that grand audience was listening. I was speaking of a remote, vaguely known, romantic section of the United States. To know that I was holding the attention and interest of that audience was a great inspiration, and so I told my little story of romantic New Mexico with an eloquence born of the environment. Suddenly a sharp tap of the moderator's gavel indicated that my time was up. Immediately I started a retreat, but before I could escape from the ample platform a motion had been carried granting me FIVE ADDITIONAL MINUTES. A grand compliment from that grand audience, — BUT having made a supreme effort to condense my story to fit the five-minute limit, I admit that the "encore" was a trifle confusing to an amateur orator.



DR. FRANK SPRINGER

NECROLOGY

DR. FRANK SPRINGER

Flags fly at half-mast over the Palace of the Governors and the Art Museum. The Scarpitti bust of Frank Springer in the Library of the School of American Research is draped in black. The members of the staff of the Institution are sorrow-stricken. Their friend and benefactor, New Mexico's foremost citizen, has departed to "that mysterious realm" whence there is no return. Dr. Frank Springer, president of the Managing Committee of the School, passed away at two o'clock, Thursday afternoon, at the home of a daughter, in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, where for many months he had been wrestling with Death, the inexorable.

Dr. Frank Springer's interests were so many, his achievements so remarkable and far-reaching, his life so filled with deeds of note that an adequate biography must be reserved for a later date and more ample space. A brief outline of his long life is all that can be printed here. He was born at Wapello, Iowa, the son of Francis and Nancy R. Springer, June 17, 1848. The father had made himself a place of eminence in Iowa history. It was said of him that he "was one of the best *nisi prius* judges the state has ever had." In 1857, he presided over the Constitutional Convention of Iowa and his portrait with that of his distinguished son, Frank, hangs in the Historical Gallery at Des Moines, Iowa, a hall of fame of Iowa's most renowned citizens.

The subject of this sketch attended the public schools of his native state and graduated from the State University of Iowa in 1867. In addition to his regular University course, he took up the study of geology and paleontology, his zeal for the natural sciences being fired by Louis Agassiz, with whom he struck up a fine friendship. How-

ever, upon graduating, Mr. Springer entered the law office of Hon. Henry Strong of Burlington, Iowa, and he was admitted to the Iowa Bar in 1869. Despite his youth, he was named prosecuting attorney for the counties of Des Moines and Louisa, Iowa. Two of the noted murder cases he prosecuted and several important civil suits in which he was counsel are reported in the Iowa Supreme Court reports. Even in his busiest days he continued his research in the field of Paleontology and began writing his series of memoirs and monographs which fill a good-sized book-shelf and won him international recognition.

In 1873, Mr. Springer moved to Cimarron, then the most important point in the county of Colfax. There he published a newspaper and as attorney for the Maxwell Grant Company and the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad, laid the foundation for his fortune that gave him the means in later years for his splendid beneficences. It was a stubborn and long drawn-out struggle over the Maxwell Land Grant against such legal giants as General Benjamin F. Butler, Hon. John G. Carlisle, Judge Brodhead, and it was Springer's brilliant argument and cogent presentation of the case before the United States Supreme Court that won the day and earned the young barrister the public and personal praise of Supreme Court Justice Samuel F. Miller.

In 1883 Mr. Springer moved to Las Vegas and continued to claim that as his residence to the time of his death. In 1890 he was elected president of the New Mexico Bar Association and the address he delivered on New Mexico land grant titles led to the creation by Congress of the Court of Private Land Claims. He drafted the principal provisions of the law to which New Mexico owes the settlement of its land grant controversies. As a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1899 he made a fearless fight for the cause of public education in the State. He was a member of the Legislative Council of 1880 and of 1901 which in 1880 met in the Palace of the Governors, in the southeast room now occupied by the New Mexico

Historical Society. It was from those days that his interest in the restoration of the Palace dated and which in later years took such beautiful form when he provided the means for the mural paintings by Carl Lotave that now adorn the Puye and the Rito de los Frijoles rooms. For five years he was president of the Normal University at Las Vegas and the record discloses that he laid the foundations for the success of that institution. It was there that was formed that unshakable friendship with Dr. Edgar L. Hewett, who was president of the Normal University, and through whom was awakened that interest in American Archaeology which later fruited in the founding of the Museum of New Mexico and the School of American Research in Santa Fe. It was there that he recognized the ability of Chapman, Nusbaum, Dr. T. D. A. Cockerell, McNary and others. His skill in drafting statutes is manifested in the organic acts of the Museum and the School and it was his aid quietly given, that repeatedly brought legislative support to a project which to the average legislator seemed far outside of the province of territorial and state activities. It was his munificence and that of friends he interested which made possible the erection of the Art Museum in Santa Fe and his patronage of art which helped to make Santa Fe an art center. It was he who had made possible to Donald Beauregard the attainment of an ambition to study abroad and who commissioned him to paint the St. Francis murals finished by Chapman and Vierra after Beauregard's untimely death. Many a young artist owes him financial assistance at a critical time. It was therefore a source of much pride and gratification to Mr. Springer, when his own daughter Eva made of herself a noted miniature painter and later developed in broader fields of painting.

His interest in the Museum brought Mr. Springer to Santa Fe oftener and for longer periods and he formed strong friendships locally. As a member of the Board of Regents of the Museum and president of the Managing Committee of the School, his chief interest the past twenty

years had been the development of both institutions. He became one of the guarantors who made the publication of "Art and Archaeology" possible and was prominent in the councils of the Archaeological Institute of America of which he was a councilor and vice-president. He presented the Director's residence, the Finck Linguistic Library, works of art and other gifts to the School. At the same time he continued his research in paleontology. However, when his final work "American Silurian Crinoids," a monumental volume, was published a few months ago by the Smithsonian Institution, he wrote to Santa Fe that he considered his life work finished and praised Providence for permitting him to read the final proof.

As long ago as 1902, *The Popular Science Monthly* said: "Frank Springer, our best authority on crinoids, has been able to produce the most elaborate and careful works in the intervals of a busy life as a lawyer—works which it may be remarked, are much better known in London than in New Mexico, where he resides." This year, in its issue of April 29, *Science* said: "Many-sided Frank Springer, born in 1848 in Iowa, educated there and admitted to the bar in 1869, has long been America's foremost authority and the world's most prolific worker in the field of fossil crinoids. Beginning his scientific career in 1867 with an adopted son of Iowa, Charles Wachsmuth, their joint publications continued until 1877 (sixteen titles.) Since then, Springer has carried on his studies of crinoids alone, and has added to his bibliography fifty-seven scientific titles, besides forty-six other miscellaneous papers having to do with law and public affairs. His results are fundamental in crinoid morphology and taxonomy. Since 1873 he has been a citizen of New Mexico, where he became one of the State's leading men and also amassed a fortune. A good part of the latter was used in getting together the largest collection of crinoids, blastoids and cystids anywhere, and after describing and illustrating these rarities as no other worker has, he gave them unencumbered to the nation through the Smithsonian Insti-

tution. Crinoids, and especially whole ones, are usually very rare fossils, but when good leads are gone after with pick, shovel and powder, as many have been under Springer's direction, the results are astonishing. . . . Would that the human world had more men like Frank Springer!" Dr. Springer was up to the time of his death an Associate in Paleontology of the United States National Museum, an Associate of the Museum of Comparative Zoology of Harvard University, a life member of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, the Geological Society of America, the Paleontological Society, the Archaeological Institute of America, the Historical Society of New Mexico, the Archaeological Society of New Mexico and the Santa Fe Society of the Archaeological Institute of which he was president for a number of years. He had been abroad repeatedly. He formulated at Amsterdam, Holland, the plan for the government of the Maxwell Land Grant and was until his death president of the Maxwell Grant Company. With his distinguished brother, Hon. Charles Springer, he built the Eagle's Nest Dam on the Grant, and with their associates built the St. Louis, Rocky Mountain and Pacific Railway, and developed the coal mining and other resources of that great domain.

Dr. Springer was much sought as an orator and his orations are classics. Some of them mark milestones in New Mexico history. At its centennial celebration, in 1921, George Washington University at Washington, D. C., made him a Doctor of Science. In 1924, the University of Bonn, Germany, conferred the degree of Doctor of Philosophy upon him.

Dr. Springer's knowledge of music, especially classic music, was profound. He played the flute admirably. He was a connoisseur in oriental rugs and his more intimate friends were often surprised to discover a new side to his astounding range of knowledge, which his modesty had kept unrevealed.

Mr. Springer was married in Cimarron on October 10, 1876, to Josephine M. Bishop who survives him, to-

gether with these children: Laura, wife of John J. K. Caskie of the legal staff of the Philadelphia Transit Company, residing in Philadelphia; Helen, wife of John F. Fairbairn, of Buffalo, N. Y.; Ada, wife of Dr. Warren B. Davis of Philadelphia; Eva, a noted artist; Major Edward T. Springer of Cimarron, who distinguished himself in France during the late war; Lieutenant L. Wallace Springer of Springer, who was in the aviation service and wounded in battle in France; and Henry S. Springer, whose untimely death of pneumonia, at Cimarron, in 1920 was one of Dr. Springer's sorrows in late years, to which were added heavy financial losses through New Mexico bank failures, during which Mr. Springer voluntarily contributed vast sums to avert financial disaster for others. Death did not come unexpectedly to Dr. Springer. Since 1906, when he broke down physically, and his ailment was pronounced organic heart disease, he faced the Great Destroyer daily and unflinchingly. With his marvelous perseverance he not only set himself, but scrupulously observed, a regimen of regular exercise. He studied everything that had ever been written on heart disease and knew minutely the many methods that had been devised in this country and abroad for the building up of heart power. He had himself so well in hand, that he would climb steep hillsides among the Pajarito cliff dwellings and walk ten and more miles a day in the Rito de los Frijoles Canyon which he loved beyond any other spot. But two years ago, the final breakdown came to him while at the home of Carlos Vierra, the artist, with whom he built a beautiful home on Buena Vista Heights in this City. Still, he was able to go to Washington, D. C., where he also maintained a fine home establishment and where Mrs. Springer resides. From there he went to Philadelphia to be with his daughter Mrs. Davis and under the professional care of her husband. He spent such time as he could leave bed working on his last volume. In fact much of the proof was read while he was confined to bed, his indomitable will keeping him busy to the end. Ripe in years and honors, he sank into eternal sleep, his family

about him, his son Edward having left Cimarron only a few days ago in answer to summons by the family.

Mr. Springer's friendships among men of science, bankers, statesmen, jurists, artists and writers were many and to quote one of these, Dr. Charles F. Lummis:

"Grave and gentle and strong and still
Sits the Chief in the Council Tent;
But when we come to a breakneck hill
His is the hand that is lent:
There's a Something we all can feel—
Power and poise of the Elder stamp;
Solomon must have made a deal
With Springer, Dean of the Rito camp.

Or to quote James G. McNary upon the occasion of the presentation of the Scarpitti bronze bust of Mr. Springer to the Art Museum on September 8, 1922:

In solitude he played his flute and thought,
Till finally this miracle was wrought,
The ordered working of his brain
Gave power to his gaze and through the train
Of aeons of dead years his piercing eye
Sought out Earth's secrets where they underlie
The cold-faced rocks. Then slowly page by page
He read through Nature's book and age by age
He found a story there. Today the world
Is deeply in his debt, for he revealed
To man the mystery the Earth concealed.

The funeral services took place at Philadelphia on Saturday, September 24, and were private. On Sunday, October 9, memorial services are to be held in the St. Francis Auditorium at Santa Fe. Hon. Charles Springer, who mourned the loss through death but a few days ago of a sister-in-law, Mrs. Chase of Cimarron, was unable to reach Philadelphia in time for the obsequies which were attended only by the immediate family.—W.

BENJAMIN M. READ

Death came suddenly but peacefully to Benjamin M. Read, historical writer, legislator and member of the New Mexico Bar, on the morning of Thursday, September 15, 1927. Had he lived to September 20, he would have been seventy-four years of age, having been born at Las Cruces on September 20, 1853, the son of Benjamin Franklin Read and Ignacia Cano. The father had come to New Mexico from Baltimore in 1846, the year that the United States forces took possession of Santa Fe. He was a direct descendant of George Read of Delaware, of Revolutionary fame and one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence. The mother of Benjamin M. Read was the daughter of Ignacio Cano who had come from Mexico and was credited with the discovery of the Ortiz gold mine in southern Santa Fe county, which was worked and produced gold, decades before the discovery of gold in California. There were three sons to the marriage, Benjamin M. Read, Alexander and Larkin G. Read, all of whom attained prominence in the law. Their father died when they were children and the mother, impoverished by litigation over the Ortiz mine, had a difficult time to feed and clothe the youngsters. Nevertheless, they managed to obtain as good an education as the time and place afforded.

When sixteen years old, Benjamin M. Read was given employment by the A. T. & S. F. Railway as section hand at Kit Carson, Colorado, and rapidly advanced to conductor. In 1871, he became secretary to Governor Marsh Giddings of New Mexico. Four years later he held the position of preceptor at St. Michael's College and at the same time was superintendent of public schools of Santa Fe. In 1881, he became secretary to Governor Lionel Sheldon. During sessions of the legislative assembly he served as translator and in 1884 he was chief clerk of the legislative council,



BENJAMIN M. READ

his experience serving him in good stead when he later served repeatedly as member of the legislative house. The first time he was elected, for the session of 1891, he was unseated but was re-elected by increased majority for the 1893 term. During the 1901 session he served as speaker of the House.

While secretary to Governor Sheldon he read law and was admitted to the New Mexico Bar in 1885. He was one of the organizers of the New Mexico Bar Association, his address to that body in 1889, pointing out defects in the existing compilations of the New Mexico statutes resulting in legislation that produced the Compiled Statutes of 1897 and gave him a place on a Commission to revise the laws.

The demand for Mr. Read as a translator, especially of original documents in Spanish, aroused in him an interest in the New Mexico archives and the source documents for New Mexico history. Though untrained in scientific research work, he set about to procure from Spain and Mexico documents bearing on New Mexico history and acquired from old families their possessions in the way of letters and documents. In 1910 he published his "Guerra Mexico-Americana." In 1910, followed his "Historia Ilustrada de Nuevo Mexico," which also has been translated into English. In 1914 came his "Popular Elementary History of New Mexico" for school use. His last published book was a "Digest of Documentos Inéditos del Archivo de las Indias." At his death he had completed the manuscript of a biography of Hernando Cortéz, in which he sought to clear Cortez of the various charges that had been made against the Conqueror and sought to establish his fame as one of the greatest, if not the greatest figure in American history. He had also prepared "Sidelights on New Mexico History," from which he had published excerpts in the public press and which embodied the result of his research in local history. This research work brought him in contact with other students of history with whom he

maintained lively intercourse and occasionally spirited debates on mooted points of history. It was his delight to take visitors who manifested an interest to his home there to exhibit his historical collections. His controversy with the custodian of San Miguel Chapel at Santa Fe regarding the age of the old church was carried on for years and was characteristic of Read whose literal-mindedness had no patience with romanticism when it came to historical statements. Mr. Read's writings hardly struck a popular chord. At the same time, his lack of scientific training barred him from the recognition which his zeal and persistent endeavor should have brought him. The fact that he thought and wrote in Spanish and insisted upon a literal translation, robbed his English work of much of the spirit and smoothness of his Spanish diction. This also made it difficult for him to find a publisher and he was compelled to finance his own publications with but meager financial returns to himself. The more praiseworthy was his loyalty to his Muse. In later years he gave up his law practice and other occupation in order to devote himself to historical research and writing. The New Mexico Historical Society honored him by electing him a fellow. He was also a member of the New Mexico Archaeological Society and occasionally contributed to its publication, *El Palacio*.

In 1876, Mr. Read married Ascension Silva who died in 1878. In 1880 he married her sister, Magdalena Silva, who gave him seven children of whom only two survive: the Misses Candida and Emilia Read. The second wife died in 1892 and in the following year he married Onofre Ortiz, daughter of Captain Rafael Ortiz, who also preceded him to the grave. Mr. Read was a devout Catholic and took a keen interest in civic affairs. Only a few days before his death he rode in state through the streets of Santa Fe as King Ferdinand on a float in the Fiesta parade. By a strange coincidence, Mrs. L. Bradford Prince, a warm friend of Mr. Read, who had represented Queen Isabella

on a similar float a few years before, had also died shortly after the Fiesta of that year.

The funeral took place from the Read home on Read street, on Saturday forenoon, September 17. Low mass was celebrated in St. Francis Cathedral. Interment was made in the family plot in Rosario Cementery. The active pall bearers were Judge John R. McFie, Francisco Delgado, Charles J. Eckert, R. L. Baca, E. H. Baca and Frank Seidel. The honorary pall bearers were Chief Justice Frank W. Parker, Judge Reed Holloman, Manuel B. Otero, Paul A. F. Walter, Juan Sedillo and A. M. Bergere.—W.

NEWS AND COMMENT

MARKERS AT LINCOLN

The town of Lincoln is the past petrified, static; there Time has incredibly stood still for half a century; one can believe that so intense were the passions there loosed in the southwest's greatest outbreak of homicide that the spirits of the dead hover closer to the border line that separates them from the living than elsewhere. One gets this feeling of persistence of other lives strongly in Santa Fe; but in less degree perhaps than in the old hamlet of the mountains made immortal by the exploits of a strange, hard, smiling, inexplicable young man canonized as a legendary hero and cursed as a wholesale and atrocious murderer.

There is as yet no garish modernity in Lincoln, despite the fact that the world is tramping a path to its doors.

The stranger finds what appears to be a deserted village until he hunts up somebody in a store or dwelling. He is more and more likely to have read the saga of the place; and increasingly curious to know what he is looking at. He may find an old-time resident who will answer his questions; the old-timers, however, do not always agree. If he is fortunate enough to catch the school master in the old court house, now used for the instruction of youth, or someone else available, he will be shown the Murphy store, the Ellis hotel, the McSween building and the window in the court house whence the audacious gunman blew the life out of Ohlinger.

The New Mexico Historical Society has discussed the advisability of starting a movement to have the historic spots at Lincoln labeled, inconspicuously, for the information of visitors, enlisting the aid of informed residents of the region to see that the data is accurate. It might indeed be wise to thus give official recognition to the importance of Lincoln as a relic of one of the most thrilling periods in the story of New Mexico. The time will doubtless come, here as elsewhere, when it will be necessary to guard this relic, protect it from sight-seers and vandals, and labor to keep it unspoiled. The Historical Society is the proper agency to bring all interested persons together in the matter. The suggestion is made that a room of the court house be used for a small historical museum, containing matter dealing with the Lincoln county war and William Bonney. The idea is not of course to bring crowds to Lincoln, but to see that those who come can view its places of interest intelligently and to the best advantage. The New Mexican would be pleased to hear any expressions from residents of Lincoln, from Walter Noble Burns, from Eugene Manlove Rhodes, from J. V. Tully, John Y. Hewitt, Oliver Lee, from the Carrizozo and Alamogordo papers or others. These names occur to us as of those interested.— Santa Fe New Mexican

SANTA FE TRAIL AND CLIFTON HOUSE

A group of teachers in the South Side schools are studying up the history of New Mexico. It is one of the requisites in this state that teachers pass an examination in state history and those who come here from other states devote some time to becoming familiar with facts concerning the state and county. In pursuance of the information a group of teachers are meeting after school in one of the class rooms and on Wednesday they gathered there to hear some of the early history of the county presented by W. A. Chapman, who came into the state, stage coach style when a boy of sixteen over the old Santa Fe trail, when at stated intervals the stage coach driver pulled up with a flourish to the old hostleries, the teams of four and six horses were changed for fresh relays, a new driver took the box, cracked the whip and the passengers began another lap of the journey through the wooded hills.

If Maxwell and Springer claim to have been on the old Santa Fe trail, they are harboring a mistaken idea, Mr. Chapman says. The old trail came over the pass into the little settlement of Willow Brook, whose two or three log houses out on North Second street are now a heap of stones, all that is left of the cabins of the early settlers. The trail went straight through to the Clifton House a

few miles south of town, one of the old time taverns where travelers were refreshed. Only two stone columns are left standing now of the old tavern. In her list of interesting historical monuments of the past, Miss Grant, Taos artist, who talked to members of the Area Council at Springer Tuesday evening, mentioned the old Clifton House as one of the memorials of early history which should be preserved by markers.

No one knows just how old Cimarron is. It was once an important little town on the old trail, frequented by soldiers and officers from the nearby forts. It was the capital of Colfax county, as was also Elizabethtown. In the days of the gold rush Cimarron canyon was full of eager gold prospectors and the placer miner washed the yellow flakes from the sand. But this is diverging from the story of the Trail, which Mr. Chapman says, ran from Trinidad through Willow Brook to Cimarron, on to Rayado, Ocate, to Las Vegas and Santa Fe.

Colfax county has more coal than any other county in the United States. When transportation becomes cheap enough to make mining the coal worth while, a great industry will be developed here. Lucien Maxwell, who lived like a feudal lord on the Maxwell land grant for years, found the first coal. A passing ox team dislodged some of it on a mountain trail south of Cimarron and he picked up the pieces and threw it into the fire place to see if it would burn. It was real coal.

When New Mexico was a part of Old Mexico, two French Canadian trappers came into this country. Their names were Miranda and Beaubien. In course of time Miranda died and his partner fell heir to all his land holdings here which approximated 1,764,000 acres and a little fort which the two men had built for the protection of themselves and the sparsely settled lands surrounding them. Lucien B. Maxwell, Kentucky horseman, came to the Southwest, married the daughter of Beaubien and in course of time bought out the remaining heirs for a pittance. His land became known as the Maxwell Land Grant and here in the old Maxwell House he lived, entertaining like a lord, breeding fine horses and herding enormous flocks of sheep. Afterwards his land was sold to an English company and became the headquarters for dissolute sons of the English nobility who lived in the same lordly fashion as Maxwell until bankruptcy overtook them and the land was sold again to a Dutch syndicate. Squatters settled in the pretty valley and a party of them chased Mr. Chapman off their reservation when he came back here as a government surveyor.

Colfax county is a kingdom in itself, rich in many minerals, and some day when the exorbitant cost of bringing machinery

into this part of the state has been overcome, its resources will be developed. It has now fine agricultural mesas, great cattle ranges, the finest climate in the world, eternal sunshine and an atmosphere which has so well preserved the antiquities of its settlement by its communistic tribes of Indians and the Spaniards that Dr. Hewett, who heads the archaeological excavations in the state, says that he waits breathlessly for the curtain of the ages to be lifted and reveal who were the first men who lived in New Mexico, whose family tree is so old that it would put the Mayflower's passengers to blush with its antiquity.—Raton Reporter.

RATON NEEDS MUSEUM

It is regrettable that Raton has no place for the accumulation storage and display of much of its historical material. One with an interest in such things, by delving around among the older business houses and talking to older residents here will find that there is an enormous amount of historical material in and near Raton which should be gathered and cared for, as a heritage to hand down to the Raton of the future. This material is very perishable and with the passing of those for whom it has a personal sentimental value, it is very apt to be lost or destroyed. Doubtless much that would be of the greatest interest to the future Raton has already been lost for all time in this way. By its very nature, it can not be replaced. Not only in Raton are there objects and papers of great historical value. The same is true of practically every community of the county. Cimarron, Springer, Elizabethtown and other towns are treasure houses for this kind of thing, which should all be assembled in one collection to stand as evidence to the historical background of the county, which cannot be surpassed anywhere. To illustrate, recently when an old building at Elizabethtown, which had seen that place in its most glorious days, was torn down, in the debris were found priceless relics of that most interesting period of the gold boom days. Parallels to this are found each year in some part of the county. It would be a good work for the city and county as a whole for some organization here to make plans for gathering historical data from all places and people of the county with a view to eventually having a county historical society to care for it. It is not too much to look forward to a day when Raton can have a museum of some kind where this material may be studied by the public. With the increasing interest in the excavation work at Folsom, it might even some time be possible to obtain a valuable collection of prehistoric specimens from that region. All this would some day make the city a center of interest for those who find pleasure and instruction in the study of the past.— Raton Range.

AMONG THE EXCHANGES

Minnesota History for September has as its leading historical article an account of the Benedictine settlements in Minnesota and the debt that they owed to Monte Cassino and Metten in Europe. The author is August C. Krey of the University of Minnesota. The story of Fort Beauharnois is told by Louise Phelps Kellogg of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. Grace Lee Nute tells of "Wilderness Marthas," the women who made the wilderness habitable in pioneer days. An account of the sixth convention of the Minnesota Historical Society, held at St. Cloud and Willmar, is given. These state conventions are preceded by a pilgrimage to historic places and in successive years conventions have been held at Duluth, Redwood Falls, Detroit Lakes, Winona and Mankato. "The results amply justify the prediction made after the first convention that these excursions into the state and into its past not only would prove an important factor in the dissemination of information about Minnesota history, but also would encourage local history organization. They have helped to impress upon the people of the state the many-sided interest and the present-day meaning of its past. They have led to the organization of several county historical societies. They have produced historical papers and addresses of permanent value, many of which have been published." The Society reports fifty-one new members during the three summer months.

The Washington Historical Quarterly in its third issue for the year presents the story of the "Educational Development in the Territory and State of Washington 1853 to 1908." It is followed by a biographical sketch of "Doctor Robert Newell, Mountain Man," who settled in 1844 on what became the townsite of Champoege. "Lewis County's Early History," "In a Prairie Schooner, 1878," "The Whatcome Trails to the Fraser Mines in 1858," and "Bonneville Papers" are other titles.

Story of the Munk Library. It is like sitting in the study of Dr. J. A. Munk and listening to him discourse on his favorite topic to read his "Story of the Munk Library of Arizoniana" just from the Times-Mirror Press of Los Angeles. There are twenty chapters but they are chapters in miniature-the book is read in less than an hour and it is easy reading at that. The Munk Library now consists of more than 16,000 titles bearing directly or indirectly on the history of Arizona and Dr. Munk has earned the gratitude of generations to come for bringing together this unique collection of books,

maps and photographs. As stated in the foreword by Dr. James A. B. Scherer: "The scholar is delighted, the student profited and the mere browser luxuriously rewarded in the Munk Library." The library had its origin in a trip to Arizona more than forty years ago by Dr. Munk, for upon his return to Topeka, Kansas, Major Thomas J. Anderson, passenger agent for the Santa Fe Railroad, gave him a copy of Hinton's Handbook to Arizona. To this was added Peter's Life of Kit Carson. These kindled a life passion for collecting Arizoniana or as Dr. Munk puts it: "During all of this time, I was on the hot trail of every Arizona book that I could find." Conversationally, reminiscently, Dr. Munk tells how the library grew, the contacts it brought him, the incidents and motives that led him to give the Library to the Southwest Museum in Los Angeles instead of to some Arizona institution. Anecdotes of a bibliophile are interspersed with the recitals of the vicissitudes that the Library has suffered, through it all is the joy of the collector in his achievement. Dr. Munk of late has had the satisfaction of helping to start another library of Arizoniana at the University of Arizona to which he gave all of his duplicates. Oh, that New Mexico and every other state had a Dr. Munk! Incidentally, Dr. Munk pays a deserved tribute to Miss Adelaide Chamberlin who was the first librarian after the Library was moved into the caracol tower of the Southwest Museum in 1914. "She spoke and read French and Spanish," he says, "and was conversant with the history and literature of the Southwest." He says further: "She was paid by the museum, but the sum was a mere pittance to what she deserved. The museum being short of funds, it had to scrimp where it could. She is, also, an accomplished artist and did work outside the library. She made the drawings for the frieze that surrounds archaeological hall on the evolution of the bird as found on ancient pottery; reproduced a Navajo sand painting in permanent form; and made some habitat groups for the panels in the tunnel. She was continually delving into some deep subject, which the pinheads in power could not understand." It is these delicious sidelights that gleam in every chapter which make the booklet such a charming contribution to southwestern literature.—W.

Southwestern Political and Social Science Quarterly. "Slavery and the American Doctrine of Equality," a dispassionate study of a subject fraught with many controversies in its implications, is printed in the March number of *The Southwestern Political and Social Science Quarterly*. The paper is by E. V. Smith of the University of Chicago. His introductory paragraph states: "The heroic attempt of Thomas Jefferson in the first draft of the De-

claration of Independence to hold the English throne responsible and censurable for slavery in America was frustrated by some of his southern colleagues. So also any explicit policy regarding slavery was found impracticable in the convention that framed the Federal Constitution. Unanimity enough to formulate the Constitution and to get it adopted was found possible only by means of golden silence upon this most unguilded subject. But smothered or clamorous, the institution of slavery was destined to continue, as it had already become in Jefferson's own mind, the more or less openly recognized challenge, not to say practical refutation, of the doctrine of natural human equality. It is of more than historic interest and value to reconstruct for ourselves the philosophy for and against slavery." Charles W. Pipkin writes on "Truth and Politics: An Estimate of the Place of Parties and their Duty in Promoting Faith in Democratic Government;" "The Basis of Americanization," is a contribution by Charles M. Rosenquist; "Are 'C' Mandates Veiled Annexations," is by Luther Harris Evans; "The Position of the State in Germany," by Frederick F. Blachy and Miriam E. Oatman; "Pillage Economy" by Max Sylvius Handman.

Chronicles of Oklahoma. Much that is stimulating and arouses inquiry also in New Mexico, is to be found in the recent issues of *Chronicles of Oklahoma*. Reminiscences of General Edward Hatch will appeal to those who remember that officer when he was stationed in New Mexico. "Reminiscences of Life among the Indians," has anthropological as well as historical value. The story of Andres Martinez captured by the Mescalero Apaches and sold to the Kiowas is of particular interest. Other titles are: "Address on Subject of Statehood," "Early Telephone History in Oklahoma," "Reminiscences of the Cherokee People," "Extracts from the Diary of Major Sibley," which tells of Zebulon Pike's reception by the Pawnees on his way to Santa Fe and of the efforts of the Spanish Governor to have the Pawnee Chief come to Santa Fe there to make a treaty with him; "Reviving Lost Indian Art," a tribute to the work of the School of American Research at Santa Fe; "Historic Spots and Actions in the Washita Valley up to 1870;" "Sacred Heart Mission and Abbey," "Fort Washita," "Old Boggy Depot," "Sources of Oklahoma History," not to speak of interesting news notes and book reviews.

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